



THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

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VOL. 85, NO. 134

MELANIE STETSON FREEMAN - STAFF/FILE

Socialists' Narrow Win Signals Spain's Shift To Two-Party System

By Howard LaFranchi

Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

MADRID

FOR Spain's young conservative leader, José María Aznar, Sunday's national elections were supposed to be what he called the "third phase" in the country's 16-year-old democracy: the arrival to power, by the ballot box, of the Spanish right after 11 years of uncontested Socialist rule.

Instead, the election results could be called step two-and-a-half.

The thin victory eked out by the Socialists of Prime Minister Felipe González denies the party an absolute parliamentary majority for the first time since 1982, and it will give the Spanish parliament some meaning by requiring the Socialists to work with other parties to pass laws.

But the results, a clear disap-

pointment for a right that thought it could capitalize on Spain's skidding economy and the Socialist Party's record of corruption, testify to the Spanish people's lingering hesitations about voting for a right wing that is still associated with 40 years of dictatorship under Gen. Francisco Franco.

Mr. González, who had closed last week's campaign with thundering allusions to the Franco years — such as "Spain knows what it is to be governed by the right" — was the clear victor of Sunday's plebiscite. It was what the Madrid daily *El País* called a "very notable [personal] triumph," given the current atmosphere of economic and political crisis.

González nevertheless acknowledged yesterday that the election results were a call for "change." Capitalizing on the Spanish people's still-strong identification of Socialist rule with the country's social, economic, and

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ENDANGERED CROP?: California's agricultural workers, like these harvesting lettuce grown near Watsonville, could face stiff competition from Mexican farmers, who have cheap land and labor and fewer pesticide rules.

Californians Gear Up For Impact of Free Trade

Adjustments expected across wide range of industries if border opens

By Scott Armstrong

Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

LOS ANGELES

CALIFORNIA broccoli growers worry about a bin-bursting supply of cheap vegetables coming up from Mexico. Peach growers believe they will find millions of new customers south of the border.

Computer firms see a bonanza, too. But apparel manufacturers fear a massive loss of jobs to low-wage stitchers in Mexico.

From the vast asparagus fields of the San Joaquin Valley to the clacking sewing plants of this city's garment district to the boardrooms of banks, California is bracing for the consequences of a possible free-trade agree-

ment with Mexico and Canada.

Even as debate over the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) reaches a crucial stage in Congress this summer, anticipation and anxiety redound in border states that will be most affected by the pact.

In California, most agree that the treaty would affect everything from immigration patterns to the daily routines of millions of workers and businesses.

"Better than half the California economy would be touched by free trade," says Philip Romero, chief economist to Gov. Pete Wilson (R).

California is the nation's leading trading state and the second-biggest exporter to Mexico behind Texas. Since the mid-1980s, when Mexico began to liberalize its economy, California has qua-

drupled its exports to that country. The volume reached \$6.6 billion last year.

To a certain extent, free trade would accelerate trade patterns already under way rather than result in wholesale changes, analysts say.

Computers and electronic equipment have been among the top exports to Mexico. Companies such as Apple Computer have already expanded their presence in Mexico in the wake of looser-trade rules instituted by the government of Carlos Salinas de Gortari. Tariffs on printers and a host of other electronic goods would disappear under the treaty, opening up new opportunities for California high-tech companies.

High-wage, high-skilled industries are expected to be the big

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A former wrestler, complete with tights and cape, now tries to pin those who mistreat animals

It's a Bird, It's a Plane, No, It's ... Super Animal?

By David Clark Scott

Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

MEXICO CITY

HIS gold lamé cape flapping behind, a huge masked man in black tights strides purposefully through the corridors of the Mexico City Assembly of Representatives.

Security guards step aside. Secretaries and politicians stop to stare and whisper "*Mira!*" (Look!). The press room empties. A small crowd gathers at the drab office of Institutional Revolutionary Party representative Demetrio Sodi de la Tijera.

The champion of animal rights in Mexico, Super Animal, hands Mr. Sodi a letter seeking his support in a campaign to publicize the plight of abandoned dogs. "They're killing 6,000 a month here in Mexico City alone," the canine defender says.

Sodi's bemused smile disappears. He promises to raise the issue with health officials and support a publicity campaign.

But Super Animal's second demand — to halt the weekly bull-fights here — is met with far less enthusiasm. "You've got to stop the public massacre," says the towering figure. What Super

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Choosing L.A.'s New Mayor

Negative campaigning has voters wishing for a third candidate.

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Charter Schools Offer a New Choice

Colorado joins four other states in allowing the establishment of publicly funded special schools.

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A Not-So-Sanguine Pierre Salinger

A TV newsman who has seen a lot of history worries that America is forgetting it.

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AFRICA UPDATE

Somalis Fight Once Again With UN Peacekeepers

At least two Somalis were killed by United Nations peacekeepers from Pakistan in a firefight in the Somali capital Mogadishu yesterday, witnesses said. Somali gunmen attacked the headquarters of the Pakistani contingent to the UN's multinational force.

The incident followed the worst outbreak of violence between peacekeepers and Somali gunmen since the UN took command of the international operation in early May. Twenty-two Pakistani troops were killed Saturday when troops apparently loyal to Gen. Mohamed Farah Aidede ambushed UN personnel inspecting food storage sites under the warlord's control.

The firefight yesterday came just after Somali militiamen loyal to General Aidede handed over to UN troops five Pakistani soldiers who had been missing since the Saturday ambush. The UN Security Council authorized its troops to track down those responsible for the weekend clash.

Dozens of nonessential UN personnel were told to pack their

TIMOTHY CLARY/APP



AT THE UN: Jamsheed Marker, Pakistan's ambassador to the UN, discusses the weekend ambush in Somalia in which 22 Pakistani peacekeepers were killed.

bags Sunday afternoon and at least 80 were flown to Nairobi, Kenya. Several members of the Irish aid agency Concern also were leaving, and the international agency CARE sent six workers out of the city. Each agency planned to operate with only two people in Mogadishu until tensions eased.

In Washington, the State Department said it was temporarily

reducing its staff in Mogadishu.

Aidede, who controls the southern half of the divided capital, blamed Saturday's bloodshed on UN soldiers who he said "carried out provocative attacks" across the city.

There are about 18,000 foreign troops left in Somalia to maintain order and help rebuild the East African nation that was stricken by drought, famine, and civil war until a US-led multinational force took control last December.

The ambush Saturday has raised questions about the UN's ability to control Somalia. Pakistan, which has the largest contingent in Somalia, has complained its soldiers were not given proper equipment and were left stranded for hours before US and Italian troops came to their rescue.

Liberian Rebel Accused

Troops loyal to Liberian rebel leader Charles Taylor were responsible for the slaughter of 300 refugees at an abandoned rubber plantation outside Monrovia, according to Augustine Mahiga, representative of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees in Monrovia.

The weekend massacre was the worst in Liberia's three-and-a-half-year civil war since government soldiers killed 600 members of rival tribes in 1990. Mr. Mahiga said he and others estimated 300 people were killed and 765 wounded at Kata, a camp of refugees set up in the workers' compound of an abandoned Firestone complex that is the world's biggest rubber plantation.

Mr. Mahiga said witnesses blamed Mr. Taylor's rebels, who came looking for food a day after the United Nations had distributed rice in the area. The rebel leader denied responsibility in a broadcast interview with the British Broadcasting Corporation.

Liberia has been divided since Taylor invaded from Ivory Coast in December 1989. Taylor's forces control virtually the entire country except Monrovia, which is protected by a six-member West African peacekeeping force known as ECOMOG. More than half of Liberia's 2.3 million people are refugees.

—Compiled by Cynthia Hanson

INTERNATIONAL

A Belgrade Radio Station Breaks From Party Line

By Jonathan S. Landay

Special to The Christian Science Monitor

BELGRADE

EVERY day at 5 p.m., thousands of Belgraders tune their radios to the theme song from the Western movie classic, "The Good, the Bad, and the Ugly."

The music heralds the main news program of Radio B-92, regarded by many here to be the most reliable source of information in the authoritarian-ruled remnants of former Yugoslavia.

While the state-run media work to preserve the regime's grip on power by fanning a war mentality, the young staff of the Balkan equivalent of an underground radio station tries its best with the barest resources to paint an accurate picture of daily events. The choice of the theme song for the main news broadcast suggests the staffers' perceptions of the political, social, and economic cataclysm gripping their country.

B-92 says its main mission is to disseminate accurate information no matter how it reflects on Serbia, the heavy-handed regime of President Slobodan Milosevic, and his proxy Serb armies in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia. That is especially important as Serbia's economic crisis risks strengthening authoritarian tendencies in its rulers.

While state-run television and radio promote the official policy of the day, B-92 offers a wide range of opinions: from opposition leaders to ultranationalists to spokesmen of foreign governments expressing uncensored views of Mr. Milosevic and Serbia's role in the Yugoslav war.

Such an undertaking is increasingly dangerous in a country where ethnic unity has been made synonymous with loyalty to the state, and anything smacking of criticism of the regime or its policies is seen as an attack on "the whole Serbian people."

"Unpatriotic" acts by "low-quality Serbs" risk retribution from the authorities or regime-bred, neo-fascist paramilitary bands. "We get threats, but it's not a problem," says Veran Matic,

chief editor and cofounder of the four-year-old B-92. "We are not afraid of organized paramilitaries. Only the lone lunatic."

Mr. Matic, at 31, is one of the oldest people on the 85-member staff. He is also one of only three full-time employees. The rest, working on contracts or on a part-time basis, earn an average of \$20 per month. Advertising revenues are scant and have dropped drastically as a result of the economic crisis Serbia faces because of tightened United Nations sanctions.

But money is not why staffers work at B-92. "Because of the situation in this country, nobody can be what they want to be," says Aleksandar Vasovic, who dropped out of law school to become an editor and military affairs reporter at the station. "To be a journalist at any other existing media, you have to be aligned with the regime or the opposition. We don't want to be aligned. We want to be professionals."



JEFF DANZIGER - STAFF

Matic says the need for an independent information outlet is crucial because it was through the state-controlled mainstream media that the leaders of former Yugoslavia fanned the ethnic hatreds that ignited the federation's violent collapse.

"Journalists are the ones who, along with the politicians, paved the road for this war. And journalists are the ones who have influenced the brutality of this war," Matic says. "The [old Communist] party obedience of journalists has been transformed into ethnic obedience."

B-92 provides more than just news and views critical of the regime and a popular diet of foreign and home-grown rock, blues, rap,

and jazz.

Founded on the principles of the UN Declaration of Human Rights, B-92 employs irreverence and imagination to oppose the war and promote the ideas of democracy, economic reform, and respect for minorities.

The station has sponsored antiwar demonstrations that have drawn tens of thousands of people — testimony to its listenership — as well as peace concerts and candlelit processions.

Matic and his staff have also turned to humor to illustrate the country's desperate straits.

To focus attention on the economic crisis, the station called on parents to bring their babies to Milosevic's residence so that he could feed them. Parents brought 400 infants. The ones that cried were declared anti-Milosevic.

Last month, B-92 sponsored an exhibit of works of art frozen in blocks of ice to symbolize the ban on international cultural ties with Belgrade proclaimed under

the year-old UN sanctions. The exhibits were later placed in a deep freezer "and when the sanctions are lifted, they will be defrosted," Vasovic said.

B-92 now plans to bring cows into Belgrade to replace humans in a protest against the regime's agricultural policies and a law that severely restricts demonstrations in the capital. "This will also be against the phenomenon of the great leader," Vasovic says. "We will show that even a bull can be a leader."

Authorities have acted overtly against B-92 only once. During antigovernment riots on March 9, 1991, the police shut down the station, accusing it of fomenting trouble. The next day the broadcasters returned to the air with the rap tune "Fight the Power."

Still, the regime maintains a certain degree of control over B-92, refusing to upgrade its temporary operating license. And the station's transmitter is only powerful enough to broadcast to the Belgrade area, which already is an opposition bedrock.

Staffers believe that Milosevic allows B-92 to exist because it helps him preserve the veneer of a free press. "We are like some sort of nasty pet," Vasovic says.

Palestinians Worry About a US 'Tilt' As Peace Talks Near

By Elaine Ruth Fletcher

Special to The Christian Science Monitor

JERUSALEM

ISRAELI and Palestinian negotiators are preparing for the 10th round of peace talks proposed for June 15 with the goal of reaching a joint statement of principles regarding interim Palestinian self-rule in the Israeli-occupied territories.

But questions of linkage between the interim period and final status, and the jurisdictional powers of Palestinian self-government, still divide the two teams.

Arab foreign ministers and Palestinian leaders met Sunday and yesterday in Amman, Jordan, to hammer out a common negotiating stance.

The Palestinian response to the United States invitation seemed to reflect a growing desire to achieve a breakthrough following six months of diplomatic stalemate – and continued deterioration in the economic and human rights situation in the occupied territories.

But Palestinian spokeswoman Hanan Ashrawi charged that the US stance on a proposed joint Israeli-Palestinian statement of principles remains too close to Israel's own position on issues such as Palestinian control of the land, Jerusalem's status, and the linkage between the current negotiations and a permanent settlement.

Israel, the Palestinians, and Washington submitted drafts of a joint statement of principles in the ninth round of peace talks last month, but the sides could not reconcile their differences.

"We're extremely upset with the American position," Ms. Ashrawi told the Monitor. "What we saw from them was way below the minimum, not just in what was acceptable to Palestinians, but also what was compatible with former American assurances. Seventy percent of the statements in the American document come straight out of the Israeli document and only 5 percent are Palestinian proposals." She said they were still awaiting US response to a letter asking Washington to clarify its position.

Considering final status

The key issue dividing Israel and the Palestinians is the "interlock" between the planned Palestinian autonomy being negotiated right now, and the permanent settlement that is to follow five years later.

Palestinians want written assurances that the principle of "trading land for peace" will be part of negotiations over the permanent settlement, due to begin three years into the autonomy period, says Palestinian delegate Freih Abu M'dein.

Israel, meanwhile, wants a more general reference to compliance with United Nations resolutions 242 and 338 on the occu-

pied territories.

"We agree to a linkage, in time, between an interim solution and a permanent solution," said Israeli Foreign Minister Shimon Peres, speaking yesterday on Israel Radio. "The permanent solution will be based on UN Resolutions 242 and 330. They [the Palestinians] also want written 'territories for peace.' I know that wasn't included in the American document."

Another issue dividing Israel and the Palestinians is the amount of West Bank land that would be under interim Palestinian rule. Palestinians want to be responsible for all of the land occupied in 1967 – including Jewish West Bank settlements and East Jerusalem.

Israel, for its part, envisages a three-tiered jurisdiction: Palestinian control over Arab farmland and cities; joint control over the unpopulated "state" lands; and Israeli control in West Bank Jewish settlements and Arab East Jerusalem.

East Jerusalem

The status of East Jerusalem is a particularly thorny issue. The eastern sector of the city, with its Muslim, Jewish, and Christian holy sites, was captured by Israel from Jordan along with the West Bank in 1967. But East Jerusalem, unlike the West Bank, was later annexed to Israel, and Israeli politicians have repeatedly declared that they will never relinquish sovereignty.

Ashrawi said Israel's two-month-long closure of the West Bank and Gaza Strip has made East Jerusalem's status a focal point of the negotiations since West Bank Palestinians cannot travel there freely.

She said it has underlined the need for Israel to treat the occupied lands, including East Jerusalem, "as an integral whole" in the talks. "They are depriving East Jerusalem's commercial, cultural, political, and religious institutions of the life blood they need from the West Bank and Gaza."

Yossi Gal, spokesman for the Israeli delegation, said Jerusalem and other questions of territorial control should be saved for negotiations on a permanent status for the territories.

"We are in a two-stage process," he argued. "The first stage deals with self-government, a transfer of functional authority from the Israeli civil administration to the Palestinians. The territory issue, the sovereignty issue, belongs to the final status negotiations."

Some observers speculate that Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin's recent offer to implement Palestinian self-government first in the Gaza Strip might offer one way out of the deadlock.

"If the negotiations over the future of the Gaza Strip will be the first stage in the framework of an overall agreement, then it would be acceptable to Palestinian opinion," Faisal Hussein, the Palestinian delegation leader, was quoted as saying.

Bickering Leaders Eclipse Cambodia Election Progress

Communist leaders threaten not to recognize May vote.

By Kathy Chenault

Special to The Christian Science Monitor

PHNOM PENH, CAMBODIA

WITH controversy tainting the UN-monitored election process, renewed attacks by the Khmer Rouge guerrillas, and political factions grasping for power before a new national assembly takes over, the United Nations is struggling to salvage more than a semblance of success for its mission in Cambodia.

The latest political wrangle came when officials in the ruling Cambodian People's Party (CPP) demanded that an impartial panel – without UN connections – be named to investigate claims of widespread election irregularities, and threatened not to recognize the results of the May 23-24 vote. The CPP protest struck many observers as a desperate

FIALA/APP



PRINCE NORODOM SIHANOUK: The former monarch formed a reconciliation government after the election, but it crumbled fast.

act by demagogues refusing to accept a second finish to the pro-royalist party known by the acronym FUNCINPEC.

In addition, UN officials said yesterday that as many as 200 Khmer Rouge guerrillas attacked Pakistani peacekeepers in the southeastern province of Prey Veng. It was the largest attack linked to the guerrilla group since before the election.

The UN mission in Cambodia has neared the crumbling point several times during the past year. The most glaring failures came with the inability to disarm and demobilize the combatants, and with the Khmer Rouge withdrawal from the peace process.

Earlier Khmer Rouge attacks on peacekeepers have also jeopardized the mission. In particular, attacks on Japanese troops led to domestic protest in Japan to end its leading role in the mission. The UN said yesterday that Japanese police forces would be among the

first peacekeepers to leave on June 15.

The Phnom Penh government, installed by Hanoi in 1979 after the Vietnamese invaded to end the Khmer Rouge's brutal rule, also has subverted the peace plan. Before the elections the government carried out a flagrant campaign of violence and intimidation to try to ensure victory.

Given these problems, getting a large voter turnout became a vital step to save a foundering peace process.

Not only did the heavy turnout lend credibility to the country's first multi-party elections in 21 years, but it gave international observers hope that Cambodians wanted to use their voting rights to mold a better future.

When returns showed the ruling party trailing FUNCINPEC, however, fears of insurrection among government security forces eclipsed the spirit of democracy.

Results from valid regular ballots – about 79 percent of the vote – showed FUNCINPEC with 45.2 percent and the CPP with 38.6 percent.

The makeup of the 120-member assembly that will write a new constitution is expected to be finalized in a few days after ballots requiring special verification are counted.

While votes were still being counted, Cambodia's Prince Norodom Sihanouk and the CPP announced the birth of an interim government intended to bring together the ruling party and FUNCINPEC under the former monarch's leadership.

Premier Hun Sen and Prince Norodom Ranariddh, Sihanouk's son and leader of FUNCINPEC, were to be deputy prime ministers. But the new government was short-lived because Prince Ranariddh refused to accept equal status with Hun Sen following FUNCINPEC's strong showing.

Khmer Rouge leader Khieu Samphan sent a letter yesterday to Sihanouk expressing support for his attempts to bring the former foes together. The Khmer Rouge's entry into such a reconciliation government jumbles the political puzzle, however, because the CPP refuses to deal with the guerrillas.

All of this maneuvering raises concerns that the democratic process here was just a charade to satisfy foreign aid requirements while the government returns to business as usual: leadership forged through finagling among the same players who oversaw the near destruction of the country and now want a piece of its future.

The people, meanwhile, indicate they are afraid to give themselves over totally to democracy.

Iv Thong, professor of management at the Institute of Science and Economics in Phnom Penh, said he favored a Sihanouk-led government even if it wasn't based on the election outcome.

"People are worried about winners and losers," he said. "The winners may be good or not good. But the losers will be much angrier."

SPAIN from page 1

political progress of the last decade, the relieved leader told cheering supporters, "I have heard the people's message: They want a change within change."

For his part, Mr. Aznar said the elections signified "a new step in Spanish political life characterized by a much better equilibrium," and concluded before his supporters that "the Socialist hegemony has ended."

While not enough to place Aznar's Partido Popular (PP) in power, the results did allow Spain's right to put behind it a historical barrier of 25 percent popular support, a "victory" in itself that should allow Aznar to continue his party leadership.

Final results gave the Socialists 159 of a total 350 seats in the parliament, down from 175 won in the last elections in 1989. The PP won 141 seats, up from 107. The Communist-led United Left took 18 seats, up from 17, while the Catalan regional party CiU fell one seat to 17, and the Basque Nationalist Party kept its five seats.

IN terms of popular support, the Socialists' total was almost unchanged at 39 percent - down from 40 percent - while the PP jumped from 26 to 35 percent.

Significantly, the PP's impressive increase came more at the expense of the centrist CDS party of former Prime Minister Adolfo Suárez than of the Socialists. The CDS, which governed Spain with minority governments from the first post-Franco elections in 1977 until the Socialists' first victory in 1982, completed its gradual disappearance from the Spanish political scene by plummeting from 14 seats to none.

With the PP moving up to near equality with the Socialists, the elections marked Spain's continuing evolution to a classic two-party democracy, analysts say,

dominated by major left and right parties leaning toward the center. Other significant lessons include:

■ The reluctance of traditional Socialist voters - which polls had indicated made up the bulk of the numerous "undecideds" right up to the campaign's close - to switch to the right.

■ The tenacity of the right's association with the Franco past.

■ And the extent to which benefactors of Spain's social safety net, developed only over the last decade by the Socialists, determined the outcome. The Socialists' margin of victory came largely from the poor south, the party's base and the recipient of government subsidies; and from the growing elderly population, who feared losing their benefits under a conservative regime.

González's victory will still require him to call on new political skills. In order to govern, the Socialists will need for the first time to develop alliances with other parties, either in a coalition government or as a minority government seeking parliamentary support on legislation.

Possibilities include a coalition with the Catalan CiU, which would certainly demand important ministerial portfolios before joining the Socialists; or with the Communist-led United Left (IU). The latter seems less likely, since Spain's economic downturn will require the new government to undertake austerity measures unpopular with IU. Such a left-tinted government could also push the PP and the Catalans to form a solid opposition, which González would rather not encourage.

The Socialists could also choose to govern alone in the minority. But González, who spoke of a government "open to renovation" during the campaign and who takes very seriously his role in shepherding Spain's evolving democracy, could be swayed by the argument that bringing in the nationalist Catalans would be stabilizing for Spain.

SUPER ANIMAL from page 1

Animal doesn't know is that Sodi is an aficionado of *la corrida de toros*. In fact, he's a bullfight official.

Sodi tactfully accepts the petition, leaving his humongous guest to speak with the press.

"He's got all the right in the world to try to protect animals. But bullfighting is part of Mexican folklore," Sodi says later. "People go to bullfights to participate in a historic Mexican and Spanish fiesta. He's bucking centuries of tradition...."

In the tradition of superheroes everywhere, Super Animal is undaunted by the odds. He joined the ranks of Mexican animal rights activists to put a hammerlock on the "forces of evil."

Back in his modest headquarters, sitting inconspicuously behind a desk, Super Animal spins his tale in comic-book terms. "I was 'born' on Feb. 14, 1993, the day of love and friendship. I'm responding to an urgent call from the animals to protect them, to intervene in their defense."

While he talks, Patricia, a once-abandoned cat who lives in the menagerie here, rubs her head against his huge hands.

Before being "born again" into this role, Super Animal was a professional wrestler. Indeed, his black-and-gold outfit is typical of Mexican *lucha libre* wrestlers, some of whom achieve cult status among the Mexican lower class. And like most of his masked colleagues in the ring, his identity is a closely guarded secret.

BUT it's clear Super Animal didn't just decide overnight that defending the animal kingdom was a good gimmick and don a new mask. Built like a prize bull, Super Animal is a 6-foot, 1-inch, 250-pound lacto-vegetarian. "I stopped eating meat and wearing leather in 1986 after visiting a slaughterhouse," he says.

Nor is Super Animal operating alone. He's the point man for the National Animal Liberation Front (FNLA) formed in November 1992. Most of the 70 members once belonged to other animal protection groups. FNLA President Gerardo

Palomero says the organization was born out of frustration over the "cowardice" of other groups.

For example, Mr. Palomero claims that one Mexican group campaigning against cruelty in slaughterhouses also has a business selling the captive-bolt pistols and ammunition that knock the cattle unconscious before the slaughter. Palomero says he has run into opposition from this group in the past when he sought to shut down or fine slaughterhouse owners who don't use the guns or use them improperly. "They don't want us upsetting their clients - the slaughterhouse owners," he says. (The National Association for the Enforcement of Animal Protection Laws could not be reached for comment.)

Funding for the FNLA activities comes out of the members' own pockets. Super Animal pays his bills, he says, out of income from unnamed businesses he owns.

Super Animal and the FNLA are mounting a multipronged attack. They have sent letters to the Mexican president and Mexico City's mayor. Publicly and personally, Super Animal is delivering letters to members of the Mexican Congress proposing a federal law against cruelty to animals, including

banning cockfights and bullfights. "There are only six states [out of 31 in Mexico] that have animal protection laws, and none deal with these two issues," Super Animal explains, ignoring the opinionated quacks of Teresa, a resident duck.

The FNLA claims bullfighting is driven more by business interests than popular tradition. "We believe 80 percent of the Mexican population is against it," Palomero says. To prove the point, the FNLA wants to hold a referendum in Mexico City and later on a national level.

Palomero has no illusions about the enormity of its task. "It will be difficult. It will take years. You can't change a mentality overnight."

In between showdowns with matadors, Super Animal plans to continue to file lawsuits against slaughterhouse owners that do not comply with government rules. He'll push for better conditions for circus and zoo animals. And he'll keep riding to the rescue of all mistreated animals.

'I'm responding to an urgent call from the animals to protect them, to intervene in their defense.'

- Super Animal

CALIFORNIA from page 1

winners under an open trading arrangement. As foreign investment in Mexico grows, treaty enthusiasts talk wistfully of California's becoming the financial hub of an emerging North American empire that includes money pouring in from Asia and elsewhere.

Prospects for growth

The state is considered well positioned to help Mexico develop ports and to offer transportation services, steel, machine tools, and other goods that an industrializing country needs.

"It is going to be a business opportunity for us," says Jack Kyser, chief economist of the Economic Development Corporation, a private group here.

A recent study by the Office of Planning and Research under Governor Wilson, who supports the treaty, estimated that, even with the negative effects in some industries, California would gain 30,000 to 40,000 jobs as a result of free trade.

Some economists, in fact, think state and local authorities

have not done enough to promote the idea. They say Texas has been far more aggressive in establishing business ties with Mexico.

"Southern California is in such a crisis of confidence that it is not looking at the possibilities under free trade," says Joel Kotkin, a fellow at the Center for the New West.

Others see pain, not potential. The treaty is likely to thud hardest on low-paying, labor-intensive industries that will compete with bantam-wage rates in Mexico. Thus some analysts fear an exodus over the border of glass making, garment manufacturing, canneries, and assembly jobs.

Bernard Lax, president of the Coalition of Apparel Industries of California, cites another problem for his industry: other countries funneling cheap goods through Mexico. While only Mexican or Canadian goods are supposed to be duty free, he contends Customs officials won't be able to inspect all garments to determine their origin.

"Mexico will turn into the prime third-world dumping ground," he says.

Treaty boosters concede some jobs will be lost in the apparel industry, which employs 150,000 in California, but say corporate offices and high-end manufacturing - \$90 Nikes as opposed to \$20 Keds - will remain here.

Most problematic may be agriculture, California's No. 1 industry.

Farmers who grow crops not produced in Mexico - apples, pears, peaches, plums, table grapes, nuts - stand to reap a horn of plenty by selling south of the border. Beef and dairy farmers will likely benefit as well.

Stiff competition

But growers of winter crops such as broccoli and cauliflower, as well as producers of canning tomatoes, face competition from Mexican farmers who have cheap land and labor, and fewer pesticide rules.

Some farmers may have to switch crops or set up operations on both sides of the border.

"It will make people relook at production and how they conduct business," says Matt McInerney of the Western Growers Association.

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

An International Daily Newspaper

Founded in 1908 By Mary Baker Eddy

(ISSN 0882-7729) (ISSN 0896-551X World Edition) Published daily except Saturdays, Sundays, and holidays by The Christian Science Publishing Society, One Norway Street, Boston, MA, USA, 02115. An activity of The First Church of Christ, Scientist, in Boston, Massachusetts. Marcas Registradas.

Manager: Al M. Carnesiali

Chief Editor: Oliver

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Registered as a newspaper at the Post Office. Second-class postage paid at Boston, MA, and at additional mailing offices. Commission Paritaire No. (France): 3125 USA. Revenue Canada G.S.T. Registration Number 126916436.

SUBSCRIPTIONS: In the U.S. and Canada, call toll-free 1-800-456-2220 or write The Christian Science Monitor, P.O. Box 11202, Des Moines, IA 50340-1202. In the UK call 081-543-9393 or write The Christian Science Monitor, Monitor House, 20 Beulah Road, London SW19 3SU England.

Subscription Rates: Daily edition (US only) - 1 year \$156, single copy 75¢. Daily edition (UK only) - 1 year \$333.30 (£206.65), single copy 80 pence. Daily edition (outside US and UK) - 1 year US\$175. World Edition (weekly, not available in the US) - 1 year US\$75, single copy US\$1.50.

ADVERTISING: Information 617-450-2652, fax 617-450-2654; production 617-450-2647.

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DAVID GERGEN AND PRESIDENT CLINTON: The appointment of Gergen as counselor signaled a shift in White House press relations.

White House Shuffles Communications Duties

WHITE House Deputy chief of staff Mark Gearan will become the Clinton administration's new communication's director, succeeding George Stephanopoulos, a senior administration official told a reporter. Mr. Gearan will brief reporters several afternoons a week while press secretary Dee Dee Myers will continue to handle morning briefings. Stephanopoulos will become a senior Clinton adviser. Gearan is a former director of the Democratic Governors Association, he managed Vice President Al Gore's campaign and later served as deputy transition director. David Gergen is the recently appointed presidential counselor.

WASHINGTON WATCH

Moynihan warns on budget

Sen. Daniel Moynihan (D) of New York, chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, predicts more spending cuts and a scaled-back energy tax in President Clinton's economic package — but he also said Sunday he's ready to bypass his own committee if conservative Democrats try to block the bill.

Democrats hold only an 11-to-9 edge and a tie vote would kill it. Republicans are so far united against the package.

Mr. Moynihan said entitlement programs such as Medicare and Medicaid must be cut further to make up for revenue lost because of a scaled-back tax. Lawmakers are currently looking at an additional \$51 billion in spending cuts over five years, including \$35 billion from Medicare, Moynihan said. He added it was unclear how those cuts would be achieved but noted that he has ruled out increased premiums for higher-income recipients. Mr. Clinton met yesterday with Moynihan and Senate majority leader George Mitchell (D) of Maine to work on details.

Clinton ready to name high-court justice

The president, eager to put the abandonment of Lani Guinier behind him, is telling aides he plans to announce his choice for the coming Supreme Court vacancy this week, to replace retiring Justice Byron White. The selection, which could come today, likely will be made from a handful of candidates who are considered centrists, consensus-builders, and safe picks for Clinton's first high court vacancy. The ever-changing list always includes Secretary of Interior Bruce Babbitt and First Circuit Court of Appeals Judge Stephen Breyer of Boston.

— Compiled by David Mutch

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NATIONAL

Candidates lashed out at each other in a harsh, negative campaign that left many voters looking for another lever to pull

L.A. Mayoral Contest: Voters Look for 'Neither'

By Daniel B. Wood

Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

LOS ANGELES

“NONE of the above.” This city votes today in its first mayoral election in 64 years without an incumbent. But high voter apathy combined with general disgust over the highly personal, mudslinging campaigns of candidates Michael Woo and Richard Riordan have left many voters wishing they could pull a lever for neither.

“There’s a reign of apathy out there,” says Larry Berg, director of the Jesse Unruh Institute of Politics at the University of Southern California.

Noting two recent major polls in which respondents gave higher unfavorable than favorable ratings to both candidates, Mr. Berg says, “this kind of disgust with what the candidates are doing and saying has major ramifications for whoever wins. Neither will have an easy time of it.”

The public and the pundits alike characterize the race here as one between candidates who have not articulated their visions for the city but offer different personal and professional styles.

Riordan is a 63-year-old Princeton graduate who made millions in commercial enterprises and presents himself as a conservative, get-it-done problem solver.

Different personal styles

Woo, a 41-year-old Chinese immigrant, has spent eight years on the City Council and presents himself as a coalition-builder, liberal, and a person who can compromise with the city’s new ethnic leaders.

The two were winnowed out of a field of 24 candidates in voting here April 20.

The final weeks of the campaign have been characterized by media and mail blitzes by both candidates. Using color brochures sent to homes and purchased television air time, Mr. Woo has been able to whittle away a lead once enjoyed by Mr. Riordan. Commercials highlight Riordan’s three drunk-driving arrests prior to 1975.

They also question Riordan’s

assertion of having “created tens of thousands of local jobs,” instead citing independent studies claiming “Riordan has thrown thousands of people out of work ... to make a fast profit in junk-bond deals and leveraged buy-outs.”

Riordan, in turn, paints Woo as a do-nothing city councilman who let thousands of jobs flee his district in Hollywood, someone who is soft on crime, and a city insider who is part of Los Angeles’ past problems.

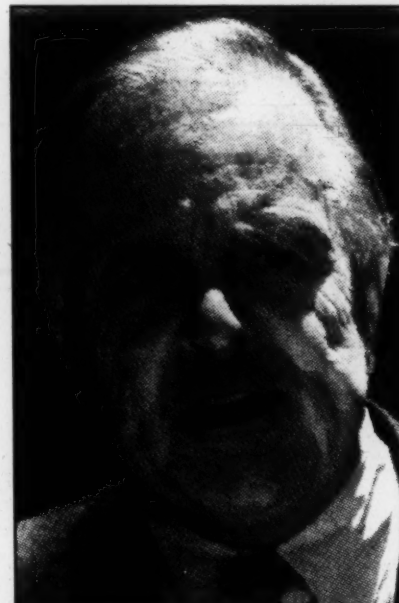
The personal attacks have car-

ried the debate to something that seems relevant. Whoever wins will be immediately vulnerable, politically.

In a Los Angeles Times Poll released last week, 50 percent of respondents said they were dissatisfied with their choice, 57 percent said they were voting for the lesser of two evils, and 56 percent said the campaign has been too negative for their personal tastes.

“When you get something in the mail and it says nothing about your own candidate and every-

PHOTOS BY LEE CELANO/REUTERS



RICHARD RIORDAN: The self-made millionaire presented himself as a conservative leader with a can-do attitude toward solving the city’s problems such as crime.



MICHAEL WOO: The Chinese immigrant highlighted his years as a liberal city councilman and says he will build bridges with ethnic leaders to improve Los Angeles.

ried over to several campaign debates in which the candidates have lashed out at each other, and virtually ignored platform agendas.

Similar goals

Both want to attract businesses and jobs back to Los Angeles by cutting through excessive governmental regulation, to put thousands more police on the streets, to improve multicultural harmony, and get a stumbling education system back on its feet. But differing ideas on how to achieve these ends have been drowned out of the debates.

“Given these negative campaigns, the city feels that neither one is the candidate they should want or get,” says Richard Zeiger, editor of the California Journal. “Neither has been able to elevate

thing bad about your opponent, what are you supposed to think?” says Wanda Horzowski, a resident of Sherman Oaks.

With one week to go before voting, the two most recent polls showed the candidates neck and neck.

Dead heat in polls

The L.A. Times Poll had Woo leading Riordan 48 percent to 38 percent among all registered voters but 46 percent to 46 percent among those most likely to turn out to vote.

“The election will turn on whether or not Mike Woo can get his backers in the African-American and Hispanic communities into the voting booth,” says Sherry Jeffe, a political scientist at the Claremont Graduate School.

Rhode Island Tribe Wants Casino To Help Reduce High Jobless Rate

Governor leads charge against the controversial gambling proposal

By Elizabeth Ross

Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

CHARLESTOWN, R.I.

LIKE many states embroiled in native American land disputes, Rhode Island is in the midst of a bitter controversy over a proposed Indian gambling casino.

Though this state already has a lottery, video poker, greyhound racing, keno, off-track betting, and jai alai, Rhode Islanders are divided over the \$50 million casino proposed by the Narragansett tribe here. It is now stalled in a legal battle with the state.

As this small New England state struggles to get beyond its reputation as a haven for political corruption, residents are torn over what the casino might bring: the promise of a revitalized economy vs. the threat of increased crime.

Leading the anti-casino crusade is Gov. Bruce Sundlun (D) who, along with other state lawmakers, has launched an aggressive campaign including a lawsuit and pending state anti-gambling legislation. Currently, Rhode Island law does not allow casino gambling.

Meanwhile, the tribe, with the help of Atlantic City, N.J.-based Capital Gaming International, has responded with its own "public information" campaign. Saturating residents with TV, radio, and newspaper advertisements, the tribe promises Rhode Islanders 2,500 permanent jobs with salaries averaging \$24,000 and 550 to 600 construction jobs.

Gambling proponents argue that the casino will not only bring jobs, but also stimulate business, and improve the lackluster economy. Opponents say the casino will attract organized crime, prostitution, and set a precedent for building more casinos.

"We see casinos as a threat to the social fabric, to the political fabric, to the economic fabric of the community," says Howard Kay, spokesman for Rhode Island Alliance Against Casino Gambling.

Yet the tribe has drummed up a good deal of support. Last month, the Narragansetts held two job fairs in Providence and Galilee that drew thousands of people.

Included with job-application packages were pre-written, stamped, and addressed postcards. Applicants were urged to



HOWARD KAY: Anti-gambling spokesman in front of Newport, R.I., home. He says casinos pose a threat to social, political, economic fabric of community.

send the cards to Rhode Island lawmakers, asking them to support the casino.

Lawrence Ollivierre, Narragansett tribe real estate director, says revenue generated from the casino would help the tribe provide for its people and relieve the federal tax burden. In recent years, Indian tribes have received limited amounts of money from federal health, education, and welfare programs, he says.

"We find ourselves at the bottom end of the stick in terms of

Island law, which excludes casinos.

But the Indians claim that since the state allows Las Vegas nights — small-stakes betting for charitable groups — they should be permitted to build casinos under the Indian Gaming Law. The law, tribes say, allows for replication of any kind of gambling now permitted in the state. "The Narragansetts aren't bringing gambling to Rhode Island. There has already been a proliferation of it in the state," says Lloyd (Running Wolf) Wilcox, a tribal leader.

He and others point to the Foxwoods High Stakes Bingo and Casino operated by the Mashantucket Pequot Indian tribe in Ledyard, Conn. It is considered one of the nation's most successful casinos. In Massachusetts, Wampanoag Indians on Martha's Vineyard also want to open a casino.

Meanwhile, in Rhode Island's General Assembly, several anti-gambling bills are pending that will be acted on before the legislature adjourns in a few weeks. One proposal that stands a good chance of passage is a constitutional amendment requiring majorities in state and local referendums before casinos can be built.

State Rep. Rodney Driver (D) says: "This state is so small, if you have a casino in one place you can get to it in 45 minutes from anywhere. It's almost in everybody's backyard."

NEW ENGLAND

allocations, as does everyone else," he says. "There has to be ways to make tribes self-sufficient economically." The tribe has a 60 percent unemployment rate.

The tribe announced last year that it would build the casino; the state filed suit. Last March, a state court ruled that the Indian Gaming Law of 1988 allows the tribe to proceed with the casino. But the state appealed the decision, which is now pending at the First United States Circuit Court of Appeals in Boston. A decision is not expected until at least the fall.

Mr. Sundlun argues that a 1978 settlement, in which the Narragansetts were granted 1,800 acres of tribal land, requires the tribe to follow Rhode

INTERVIEW

Vermont's Jeffords: Senate GOP Centrists Could Play Key Role

By Keith Henderson

Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

MONTPELIER, VT.

WITH Vermonters, the message is still, "It's the economy, stupid." That's what James Jeffords, the state's centrist Republican senator, found back home among his predominantly Democratic and progressive constituents during a congressional break last week.

"The economy is on most everyone's mind," says Mr. Jeffords, who is just completing his first term in the United States Senate, after seven terms in the House of Representatives.

But just as urgent are people's apprehensions about the performance to date of their new president. "That's probably No. 1," he says, "[determining] whether the country is in for a bad time over the next four years."

Jeffords is one of a small group, or "gang," of moderate Senate Republicans — others include Sens. William Cohen of Maine, Mark Hatfield of Oregon, Dave Durenburger of Minnesota, and John Chafee of Rhode Island — whose support will be sought by the Clinton White House to pass key legislation. They are as determined as the president, for example, to see some form of campaign reform enacted this year. "We've got to do something to restore the public's confidence in the Congress," Jeffords says.

The Vermont senator is a strong backer of health-care reform, too. His "medicare" proposal would establish a national system of health-care funding, probably through a payroll tax. That money would then be distributed to the states, which would have to conform to a "core" of publicly funded medical services set by a presidential commission.

"Clinton's people are coming very close to our view," he says.

But this Republican's willingness to collaborate with the new Democratic administration stops short of the Clinton tax-hike and spending-cut economic package that cleared the House recently and is heading toward a showdown in the Senate. The Vermonter says he'll have to wait and see what his chamber does with the package, but adds there will have to be "substantial adjustment."

Clinton had to bludgeon [the House] into voting with him," Jeffords says, but bludgeoning is "counterproductive" in the Senate.

Business people in his state, he says, are "willing to take a hit on taxes, but they want to see something done on the spending side in return."

And the specific issue of an energy tax, always sensitive in heating-conscious Vermont? "Well," the senator said, "I haven't had anybody urging me to vote for it."

Is the gridlock in Congress as bad as critics ranging from Ross Perot to Bill Clinton make it out to be? "It's there," Jeffords says, "but it's more philosophical than political, and it's not solved merely by the Democrats being in charge." The number of Democrats that are balking at the president's economic proposals drives home this point, he adds.

As a Republican who has often been out of step with his right-leaning party in recent years, Jeffords has a keen appreciation of the balance between pragmatism and principle in politics. He views Clinton as having lost the political rudder afforded by a clear set of principles. He says he's one Republican who would like to lend a hand in such areas as health care and deficit control. "I'm hopefully going to try to help him any way I can to adhere to some principles," asserts the senator.

Jeffords tends to be forgiving about the Lani Guinier episode. "You can't expect the president to read the writings of each of his nominees — that's the staff's job."

The senator's attitude might not be shared by his more predatory GOP colleagues in Congress. He volunteers that some of the "real right-wingers" in his party are "ecstatic" about Clinton's stumbles. But a majority of his fellow Republicans, he says, "recognize that the country could be in really sad shape if we don't help him get control of things."

"The gang of five certainly feels that way," he adds.

Consumer Electronic Vendors Offer a Peek Into the Future

By Robert M. Knight

Special to The Christian Science Monitor

CHICAGO

THE consumer electronics industry still has its share of fishbowls made to look like bubbly sculptures, clocks with faces of Marilyn Monroe or James Dean, calculators, camcorders, computers, karaoke systems, and cellular phones. But this year, the industry's focus is not so much on individual products as on digital paths that can make electronic products and systems work together.

Hundreds of the manufacturers and distributors who displayed their wares at the Summer Consumer Electronics Show at Chicago's McCormick Place last weekend hope those digital paths will combine to create vehicles for the "information superhighway."

Consortiums of hardware, software, and communications vendors are emerging. They look forward to the day when a distributor or retailer can provide the "installed base" that might guarantee a consumer market for their product or service.

"We will work with vendors that prove they have the installed base out there; it's that simple," says Robert Botch, president of US Gold in San Francisco, a subsidiary of Center Gold Ltd. of Birmingham, England.

Consumer electronics goes high-tech

By the end of 1994, Mr. Botch says, his company plans to support a new hardware "platform" called the REAL (Realistic Entertainment Active Learning) Interactive Multiplayer. It involves a consortium with three vendors: 3DO Company, Panasonic Company, and American Telephone & Telegraph Company. For game playing, 3DO's REAL consortium promises to bring compact-disk technology to the consumer's home television, providing more realistic, three-dimensional graphics.

In a booth next door, another San Francisco firm, PF Magic, takes advantage of an agreement between AT&T and Sega. The system allows two young rivals to play video games on Sega Genesis equipment "across the country or across the street," and talk over headsets at the same time, says John Scull, PF's managing director. The Genesis "box" and the AT&T hookup are expected to sell for about \$500 apiece.

The 3DO consortium is not restricted to games, says Trip Hawkins, 3DO's president. Mr. Hawkins says his company has licensed its technology to more than 300 vendors, 92 of whom already are developing software products for the system. Besides games, interactive software is aimed at education, movies, sports, and information, as well as categories called "simulation" and "family."

The machines, made by Panasonic, will appear on store shelves in October, just in time for the Christmas rush. The system is expected to retail for \$600 to \$700.

More than just a game

The other major consortium announced in Chicago has more potential appeal for the business person than for the average consumer. Tandy Corporation, Casio Inc., and Palm Computing among others have developed the Zoomer, a personal digital assistant (PDA) device.

It acts as a calendar, an address book, a communications device, and a notebook that accepts handwriting done with a stylus "or even a chopstick," says John McDonald, Casio's president. The Zoomer also provides translations in 26 languages, retrieves reference material, and records financial transactions for the business person dealing with travel expenses.

The pocket-sized PDA, weighing less than a pound, is designed to connect to an ordinary personal computer using Microsoft DOS as an operating system. With a modem, Zoomer will be able to communicate with "E-mail" systems, faxes, computers, and other PDAs, consortium executives say.

John Roach, Tandy's president, says the Tandy version of the Zoomer will be in Radio Shack stores by October, selling for \$699. The Casio version will be available at about the same time and at about the same price, Mr. McDonald says.

ECONOMY

British Hotly Debate Fate Of Nuclear Power Plants

At issue is the expense and time needed to decommission old radioactive facilities

By Alexander MacLeod

Special to The Christian Science Monitor

LONDON

THE expected cost of shutting down Britain's atomic power stations and other nuclear facilities at the end of their useful lives is causing alarm among government planners, industry experts, and environmental groups.

A report by an official watchdog group suggests that a final bill of £18 billion (\$28 billion) will have to be met, much of it by the taxpayer.

But the National Audit Office (NAO) cost analysis is under challenge from power-generating companies that want the government to authorize the building of still more nuclear reactors to meet 21st and 22nd century energy needs.

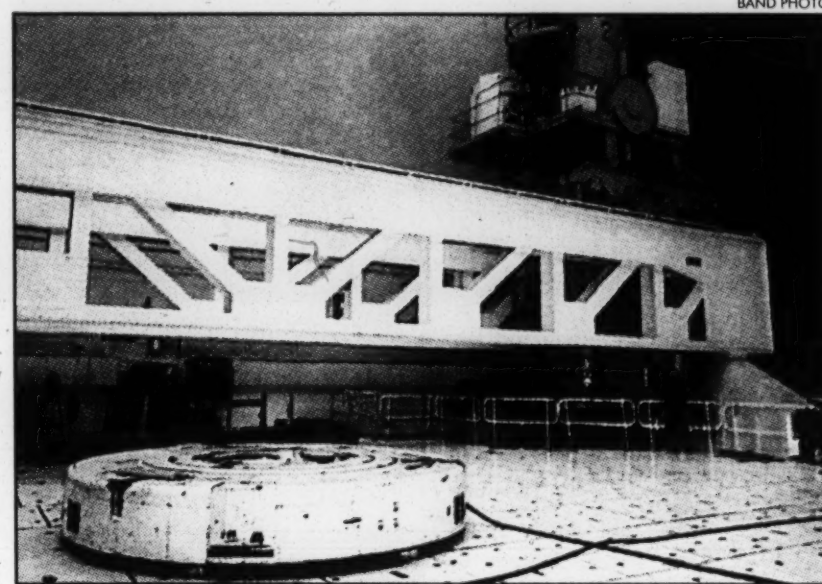
Opponents of nuclear power have entered the argument, too. They want to persuade the government to abandon atomic power as a source of electricity.

Decommissioning the old-style Magnox reactors, which form the backbone of Britain's nuclear power industry but will be obsolete by the end of the century, is a long, complex, and expensive process.

The radioactive rods which fuel them have to be removed and the material in them reprocessed. The stations must be left under guard for 30 to 35 years. The station buildings, clad in thick concrete to prevent radioactive seepage, will have to be left until it is considered safe to demolish them completely.

Much of the argument sparked by the NAO's June 3 report is about how long the decommissioning period should be. The government says a maximum of 100 years, but industry leaders want to spread decommissioning over 150 years. They claim that delay would be cheaper in the long run and would give companies more time to find the cash to pay for closing the facilities.

Patrick Green, an anti-nuclear campaigner for Friends of the Earth, claims the generating companies are demanding a longer



NUCLEAR ENERGY: At the Bradwell Nuclear Power Station in Essex, a nuclear reactor head is still in working order. Elsewhere in Britain, the future of nuclear power plants and the country's energy needs are in question.

time-scale because they want to concentrate on making money instead of meeting what he calls their "historic liability" to end the life of old nuclear plants as quickly as possible.

In the NAO forecast, the cost of shutting down, mothballing, and later dismantling the Atomic Energy Authority's reprocessing plants is put at £3.5 billion. Decommissioning British Nuclear Fuel's reprocessing facility at Sellafield will cost nearly twice that amount.

NUCLEAR ELECTRIC (NE), Britain's largest generating company, with eight Magnox power stations, seems to be heading for collision with the government over its approach to decommissioning.

The NAO says NE will need to set aside £7 billion to decommission its aging reactor family. But Doug McRoberts, spokesman for NE, says the true cost to his company will be only £2.8 billion.

Green, however, contends that NE has not "ring-fenced" the money that will be needed for decommissioning. Instead, he says, it is "relying on the government approving more nuclear power stations, and intends to pay for decommissioning the old ones out of future profits."

At present, British electricity users pay a surcharge on their fuel bills to help create a fund that will eventually be used to pay for decommissioning. The levy produces about £1 billion a year, but when it ceases in 1998, the total amount available to pay for decommissioning is likely to cover only half the cost.

The rest of the money can

come only from nuclear industry profits or from the taxpayer, says Gordon McKerron of the science policy research unit at Sussex University.

Suggestions that Britain should embark on a vigorous nuclear expansion program are fiercely contested by environmental groups and other foes of the nuclear industry.

NE is expected later this year to apply to build a huge 2,600 megawatt twin-reactor station, to be called Sizewell C, on the Suffolk coast. Greenpeace, in company with other anti-nuclear groups, has sworn to oppose the application. A Greenpeace spokesman said: "Instead of throwing good money after bad on new reactors, the government should spend it on decommissioning old plants, and encourage renewable energy schemes and energy conservation."

If the environmental groups' campaign against Sizewell C succeeds, NE executives admit that the new station, if built at all, may begin operating too late to replace the power now generated by Magnox reactors.

The future is further clouded by a government decision last year to conduct a wide-ranging review of Britain's future energy needs. Michael Heseltine, president of the Board of Trade, has said he wants the review to be limited to assessing the market for new nuclear power stations.

But Friends of the Earth say the review should cover all energy sources, and if it does, the case against nuclear power on both environmental and economic grounds would rapidly become obvious.

Romanian Economic Reforms Move Slowly

By Kevin Drew

Special to The Christian Science Monitor

BUCHAREST, ROMANIA

CARMEN KAPPLER'S voice trails off as the train car pulls out of this Eastern European capital heading West.

"I am not looking forward to heading back to Germany," the 24-year old doctor says. "I want to stay home, but it is a very bad time here. There are no jobs."

In Botosani, 220 miles north of Bucharest, Mayor Dumitru Chiriacescu puts on his best face about the prospects for his city, hit with 20 percent unemployment. "Yes, we've laid people off here, but we haven't closed any factories yet. You have unemployment in the West, too."

Mr. Kappler's resignation and Mr. Chiriacescu's optimism are familiar themes in Romania, where the government's economic reforms are forcing many to make painful decisions.

Three years after the fall of Communist leader Nicolae Ceausescu, reform has proceeded slowly and prosperity for most Romanians remains elusive. Romanians earn an average of \$50 a month, one-fourth the average Czech wage. Unemployment is

9.6 percent — three times the Czech figure. Inflation was 200 percent in 1992, and the government projects it will be between 70 and 80 percent this year.

Badly needed foreign aid and investment have only trickled in. Total foreign investment since 1990 is just \$600 million, far below the \$3 billion-plus figure in Hungary and the Czech Republic.

Many Romanians interviewed said they or their relatives were leaving the country to seek jobs elsewhere.

"The [reform] process has moved slower than we expected," concedes Cristian Popa, a government advisor on privatization. "But we believe we are about to turn the corner."

Western observers puzzled by Romania's difficulties can look to the Ceausescu era for much of the blame. So deep was the desire to pay off its foreign debt, the Ceausescu regime sold domestically produced goods abroad far below cost to obtain hard currency. In doing so, the country ignored renovating factories and increasing wages. Quality and worker productivity now suffer.

"Our economy is going down and down and down," says Trajan Dobrej, editor for social issues at

Romania Libera, a Bucharest daily that often takes a critical view of the government reform plan. "Many factories in Romania can't work because they have no market. This is our biggest problem."

Romania's path to privatization differs from other Eastern European countries. It has opted for a slower pace than the Czech Republic and Poland. Prices of

point where only four companies had been privatized by last November.

What could also hamper the reforms is a restless labor force, uneasy over price hikes and a growing unemployment rate. More than 1 million Romanians are out of work, and Mr. Popa predicts the jobless rate could reach 14 percent by year's end.

But Finance Minister Florin Georgescu sees no other path for Romania. "We are confident that this is the right way."

Hindering foreign aid is Romania's international image as a backward Balkan country. In the country's first free elections in May 1990 after the fall of Ceausescu, Ion Iliescu, a longtime Communist Party official, was elected president.

Citing fundamental political abuses such as the government monopoly on television, the US Senate has refused to grant most-favored-nation-trading status with its lower tariffs.

Some political observers say the political changes under Iliescu are superficial and many former Ceausescu officials remain in office.

Romanian government officials are nevertheless mounting a

drive to woo more foreign investment.

"I'm not so sure the view the West has is based on reality, but based on the situation here 10 years ago," says Marcel Dinu, state secretary in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Mr. Dinu points to the presence of more than 100 political parties and hundreds of publications as proof of a lively, developing democracy.

Finance Minister Georgescu and other government officials will begin negotiating with the European Community this month for a \$400-million loan.

Popa says the country is "gaining momentum." He proudly points to 15,000 joint ventures. He calls 1993 "the most crucial year" for Romania's economic reforms, and believes the country is about to cash in on lucrative foreign investments. Romania will attract between \$1 billion and \$2 billion in foreign investment annually by 1995, Popa predicts.

To lure Western capital, the government is billing the country as politically stable, with a well-trained work force, and an untapped consumer market. Popa, Georgescu, and others say the comparatively low wages Romanians earn are an incentive for Western entrepreneurs.

To lure Western capital, the government is billing the country as politically stable, with a well-trained work force, and an untapped consumer market.

most goods have been freed since May, but wages have not kept up with the price hikes. Inefficient industries, such as petroleum and steel, are still subsidized by the government.

Late last year, the government established state and private ownership funds to hold and manage the equity of the 6,300 enterprises due to be privatized. A shortage of revenue from the privatization process, however, has delayed the pace of reform to the

Bolivia Works to Reduce Debt, Raise Living Standards

By Jacqueline Jordan-Martin

Special to The Christian Science Monitor

LA PAZ, BOLIVIA

TO Oscar Farfan Mealla, a consultant for the Regional and Development National Fund (FNDR), democracy in Bolivia includes a free market. To many Bolivians, democracy also means long-awaited political stability. Bolivia has endured more than 180 coups in the 168 years since independence.

The nation, observers say, moved in that direction with presidential elections Sunday. Gonzalo Sanchez de Lozada, an English-speaking mining executive who was raised in the United States, claimed victory Monday.

(He promised to work for a government based on social justice, honesty and change, according to the Associated Press. Thousands of supporters cheered Sanchez de Lozada, his running mate, Victor Hugo Cardenas, and their wives when they spoke at a victory rally in this high Andean city shortly past midnight.)

(Sanchez de Lozada, who must be formally voted into office by Congress in August, comes from a wealthy land-owning family. Cardenas, an Aymara Indian intel-

lectual and educator, grew up in an adobe hut three miles above sea level near the shores of Lake Titicaca.)

In an interview, President Jaime Paz Zamora says it was necessary for his administration "to place a marginal nation back in the world."

The president's travels abroad, for which he has been criticized, have brought in large sums to Bolivia and have reduced the external bank debt, according to an official source.

This is the first time a developing nation has completely wiped out its debt with commercial investments, explains Roberto Jordan Mealla, executive director of FNDR.

But it is only the country's private external debt that has been cut, according to a recent Latin American Weekly report. At a meeting in Hamburg last March, the nation reduced the \$170 million it owed foreign commercial banks to \$90 million. Bolivia's total external debt was reduced by only 4.5 percent, from \$3.77 billion to \$3.6 billion.

In a recent United Nations report, Bolivia, Haiti, and Honduras were cited as the poorest and most undeveloped countries in Latin America. "Bolivia is so poor that it's like a beggar asking for help, but the problem is that the more help we re-

ceive, the less we are able to help ourselves," Mr. Farfan says.

Bolivia continues to rely on foreign aid, in the form of debt reductions and bank loans. The European Community sends the country \$350 to \$400 million annually. United States aid is estimated to be around \$180 million, \$30 million of which goes toward anti-drug efforts.

"Seventy-five percent of foreign aid is directed to public investment," says Carlos Alberto Lopez, an official in the Ministry of Planning and Coordination.

Over the past four years, roads and railways have improved, providing an

INTERVIEW

economic boost to commerce, Mr. Paz Zamora says. "Economic growth is said to have reached 4.1 percent, while inflation is under 10 percent."

Paz Zamora notes some other positive changes that have occurred during this administration: The infant mortality rate has decreased by 50 percent; the illiteracy rate has dropped by 20 percent; and unemployment is down to 6 percent, although 40 percent of Bolivians are underemployed.

But some analysts say that the free

market economy, or "neoliberalismo," begun in 1985 under Victor Paz Estensorro, has only increased poverty and widened the gap between rich and poor.

In 1985, inflation in Bolivia was at 24,000 percent. Mr. Paz Estensorro introduced a new currency, the boliviano. Gas prices went up; public sector wages were frozen for four months; price subsidies were eliminated; and currency controls were lifted.

A social emergency fund was established to help bridge the new economic program and the social crisis.

"We have inherited poverty way before 1985," Paz Zamora says. "Today we are able to do for the poor, thanks to economic reforms that our government had to make."

At about 11 percent a year, inflation is now under control. The national economy has grown at an annual average rate of more than 3.5 percent over the last six years, according to the Economic Commission for Latin America report (ECLA).

Paz Zamora says when he steps down on Aug. 6, he will be satisfied with what his administration has done over the last four years.

"Bolivians have a new mental vision of themselves," he says. "They have had to learn that they are winners, not losers."

HABITAT

Try Superinsulation For a Tight House, Maine Builder Says

Though cost is higher, energy savings swiftly add up

By Keith Henderson

Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

BANGOR, MAINE

NO one would have jumped at the chance to live at 47 Essex Street in this old mill city in central Maine, despite a nice view of the Penobscot River from that address. The upper story of the old triple-decker located there was gutted by fire last July, and the building was damaged throughout.

In the next couple of months, however, the attractiveness of this piece of real estate will climb as a work crew rips out charred wood, remodels the interior, and — most important to builder Neal Carter — tightly sheaths the whole structure, from the ground to the roof line, in a new 4-1/2- to 6-inch skin of rigid foam insulation sandwiched between wafer board. When it is completed, the Essex Street address will be home to three families, who should have no problem with the cold winds that whistle through this part of Maine much of the year.

In the basement, a boiler unit that is a fraction the size of the old one will heat the house, using less than half the amount of fuel oil. The plumber working on the project, who is familiar with Mr. Carter's superinsulating techniques, is willing to guarantee that the upper unit will stay comfortable without heating elements of its own, the builder says.

Carter is one of a small corps of builders around the country who are sold on the benefits of superinsulation. Many are in the northern tier of states, but a few are located in the South and Southwest as well, where cooling costs can be higher than heating costs up north.

Superinsulators install a thickness of insulation, either blown in or rigid, that creates an R value — a measure of how many British thermal units (Btus) of heat go through a square foot of wall area per hour — that is far higher than the value built into ordinary houses.

The higher the R value, the lower the heat loss. Carter's standard is R-40 for walls and R-60 for ceilings. A conventional insulated suburban home might have corresponding R values of R-11 and R-19.

Does the extra insulation pay off? Carter is convinced that it does, though he realizes that people tend to shy away from the added initial cost — whether in a "retrofit" like the Bangor triple-decker or in a new building. The concern about the cost of insulating sometimes obscures other savings, he says. "We're often able to build a superinsulated house for close to the same cost as conventional construction, because you can downsize the heating system — maybe a \$2,000 unit [will be sufficient] instead of a \$5,000 one."

Half the cost of the rigid insulation applied to the Essex Street building is being offset by the savings from a smaller furnace, he says. And for every eight feet of baseboard heating that is not needed, he saves \$135.

Carter has kept detailed records of the costs of remodeling and operating the several apartment buildings he owns in the Bangor area. He asserts that the monthly costs of the buildings — mortgage plus heating and utilities — is lower than it would be in conventionally constructed units.

Bill Lemke, executive director of the Energy Efficient Building Association in Wausau, Wis., explains that the kind of retrofitting practiced by Carter migrated down from Canada in the mid-1970s. He says it has yet to catch on as much as it should in the United States. Mr. Lemke contends, though, that superinsulation is not a major addition to the reroofing and re-siding costs buyers of older buildings often face anyway — and the payoff is significant. (In addition, Carter will be able to reuse most of the old siding from his building.)

Lemke also notes that the outer skin of rigid insulation chosen by Carter for his fire-damaged property in Bangor is just one option. Another — usually less expensive — choice, Lemke says, is to



BEFORE: Carpenter David Demere works in burned house in Bangor, Maine, being rehabbed — and superinsulated.

suspend a new outer wall made from two-by-fours from the roof and fill it with fiberglass insulation.

A persistent concern about superinsulated houses is that they don't allow air to circulate, thus creating stale, perhaps polluted indoor air. "I always try to uncouple the idea that superinsulation is 'too tight,'" Carter says.

He acknowledges that tightness is a must. He regularly employs a heavy plastic "house wrap" inside the insulated outer skin of his retrofits in order to ensure a uniform block to moisture. Any seam or chink in the new skin is filled with sprayed-in foam. He also uses argon-filled multipane windows, with a much higher insulating value than single panes.

The result is a house so tight that the whole structure can be heated from one point because, as Carter explains, "the heat loss is greater from room to room than to the outside."

The need for ventilation is crucial, Carter readily agrees, but he says it can be adequately met through a combination of standard exhaust fans in kitchens and bathrooms plus "high-tech holes" — vents cut through walls that can be operated either manually or automatically. During winter, these vents allow in fresh air, which is directed toward the ceiling so it can warm up before it circulates.

Carter mentions that experimentation also is under way to use the "stack effect," by which air moves vertically through a structure, as a means of controlled ventilation in superinsulated homes. That could eliminate the need for electric fans.

Many of Carter's retrofitted buildings incorporate solar technology along with superinsulation. One multifamily unit, also on the bluffs overlooking the



SOLAR PANELS: On many structures such panels look like afterthoughts with the mansard roof and dormers of this Carter-built house in

river, has solar panels placed inconspicuously between windows on its mansard roof. The builder says he always tries to counter the perception that solar panels are usually "ugly" afterthoughts on buildings.

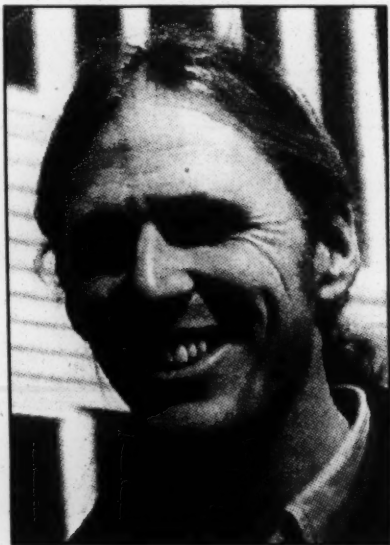
His own home in nearby Charleston, Maine, has a wide, treeless view to the east and south. It includes both passive-solar-design and active-solar systems for hot water. Until recently, when new state regulations stopped the local phone company from selling its used batteries, the wind generator rising behind Carter's house supplied much of the household electricity needs for Carter, his wife, and their two small children. Now that he has no way of easily storing the electricity, the propeller is rarely used.

Carter has roots in the back-to-the-land movement that brought many

young people to the area in the 1970s, when he started building from Bates, Maine, and started maintaining the energy movement, but grip on economic might expect from home builder. His other ran construction in Connecticut.

According to Carter, who has shown that steps can benefit landlords, and tenants, sizes that superinsulation also has applications, where energy are steep.

"I want people to have this stuff [superinsulation] in economic sense," he



'I want people to start realizing that this [superinsulation] makes economic sense.'

— Neal Carter

LEARNING

Charter Schools Offer Another Choice

Colorado joins four other states in allowing school boards to approve publicly funded special schools

By Laurel Shaper Walters

Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

BOSTON

IMPATIENCE with the slow pace of school reform is causing states across the country to legislate new options.

"Charter schools" are the latest vehicle for change. Minnesota pioneered the idea in 1991 with a law allowing licensed teachers to operate publicly funded schools under contract or charter with a school board.

In the past two years, five states have passed charter-school laws. Gov. Roy Romer (D) of Colorado signed charter-school legislation last week. And more than a dozen states have introduced charter bills in the past year.

Charter schools are given wide latitude as long as their students meet performance goals established in the contract. "Their continuation depends on their students' performance," says Ted Kolderie of the Center for Policy Studies in St. Paul, Minn.

Under the Minnesota law, charter schools cannot screen students, charge tuition, discriminate, or have a religious affiliation, but all other state regulations are waived. If students fail to meet performance goals outlined in the contract, the school's charter can be revoked.

State and local aid follows students if they leave a regular public school and enroll at a charter school.

Although most school boards and teachers unions are opposed to charter schools, President Clinton and Education Secretary Richard Riley have endorsed the concept. A bill that would provide start-up aid to charter schools is pending in Congress.

The specifics differ from state to state, but the common goals are to foster innovation, increase student options, free teachers and schools from regulation, and introduce more accountability into the public-school system.

The charter concept expands the idea of public-school choice but does not go as far as vouchers, which would allow parents to use taxpayer dollars to send their children to any public or private school.

"I view charter schools as a way to reform the whole system," says Governor Romer. "Quite often the institutional form is so rigid that we need to break that form in order to have the opportunity to try some things differently."

Romer considers the new legislation in Colorado to be a research-and-development project. "It's a controlled experiment," he says. "And that's very much needed."

CHARTER-SCHOOL laws could lead to a redefinition of public education, some experts say.

"The idea that the state will say it's OK for more than one public organization to be offering public education in the same community has big implications," Kolderie says. "People don't know where that's going to lead, but it could create a lot of dynamics in the system."

Minnesota's experience is already offering les-

sons. The state has approved eight charter schools since 1991. Two schools are already open; the other six expect to begin classes in the fall.

Most of the charter schools approved so far target students who are not being served well by the current system. A school for deaf students will open next fall, for example.

The first charter school in the nation - City Academy in St. Paul, Minn. - opened last fall and held graduation ceremonies for 16 students last week. The school operates year-round and enrolls students who have dropped out of traditional high schools.

Milo Cutter, one of the teachers who founded the school, saw the need for a small program that could tailor coursework to the needs of individual students.

"When the legislation for charter schools came out," Ms. Cutter says, "it seemed to suit exactly what we wanted to do."

"City Academy works primarily with kids who were not attending school," says Peggy Hunter, who administers the charter-school program for

Joan Riedl has experienced that resistance. As a teacher at North Elementary School in Princeton, Minn., Ms. Riedl has structured her class to offer small-group learning and an increased emphasis on technology.

"When I heard about the charter schools, it made sense to me," she says. So Riedl proposed a new school based on the ideas she is already using successfully at North Elementary.

But the school board wouldn't approve the proposal. "What we heard so much was: 'We don't have enough information; we can't make a decision,'" Riedl says.

"They were blocking her, as districts often do," says Ms. Hunter of the state education department. "It's those kinds of blocks that really hamper creative teachers from being able to do something new and innovative."

THE debate about charter schools has raised "some very important questions about the role of the school board and who it represents," Kolderie says.

Thomas Shannon, executive director of the National School Boards Association in Alexandria, Va., says the association is not opposed to charter schools.

"But once government gives a right," he says, "it's very difficult to take it away. School boards are much better advised to be very tough on the front end. In the final analysis, it's all going to be back in their lap if the charter school doesn't work."

In the midst of the debate, some school districts in Minnesota are making changes without actually chartering schools.

"What we're finding is that the charter-school proposals are a catalyst for getting districts to start paying attention and listening to what the learners are needing and the parents are requesting," Hunter says.

In one case, a group of parents requested a Montessori alternative school for the district but were turned down several years in a row. So they worked up a charter-school proposal and took it to the local school board.

"The board was about to approve it when the administration decided to have another look at the situation," Hunter says.

Within two weeks, the district administrators created a district-run Montessori option. "When push comes to shove, there are ways in which it can be accomplished," Hunter says.

Several weeks ago, Minnesota passed new legislation that allows applicants whose proposals are denied by a local board to appeal the decision to the state board of education.

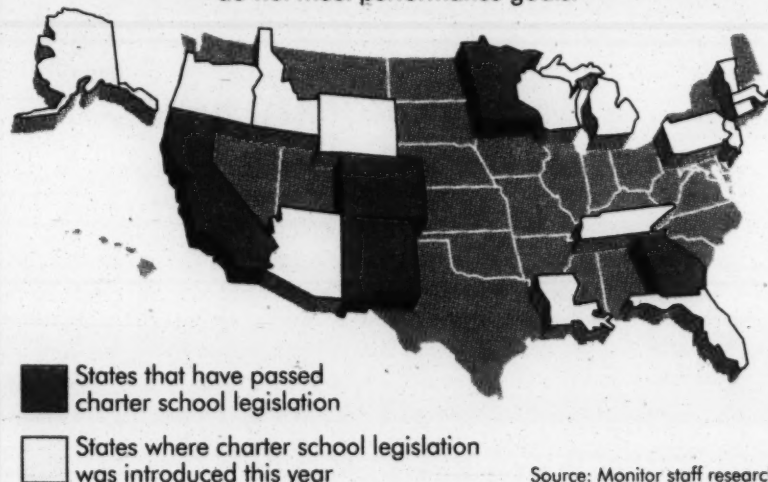
"That may force local school boards to respond a little differently than they did before," Hunter says.

It's too early to determine the effect of charter schools on the public-school system in Minnesota, but the debate is focusing attention on parents' concerns and interests.

"It's caused a policy debate that's way out of proportion at this point to the number of kids and the number of schools involved," Kolderie says. "People clearly feel there is something much bigger at stake."

Charter School Legislation Sweeps Across the States

Charter schools operate under contract with a local or state school district. The publicly funded schools are exempt from most regulations, but the charter is revoked if students do not meet performance goals.



Minnesota's Department of Education. "They are certainly showing some success in being able to both draw these kids back off the streets and getting them to graduate."

A more controversial charter went to Bluffview Montessori School in Winona, Minn. It was operating as a private school before applying for a charter last year.

Critics say the school simply wanted to solve its financial problems, but a school board approved the charter. Bluffview became a charter school in March and a handful of new students left public schools to attend. Next year, Bluffview's enrollment is expected to double.

At this point, charter schools in Minnesota are expanding the current system rather than competing with it.

"What we're seeing so far is that school boards would rather not bring in new and innovative programs," Kolderie says. "Proposed schools that would take mainline, regular kids are the ones that seem to get the maximum resistance from boards and superintendents."

PHOTOS BY R. NORMAN MATHENY

insulated - by Neal Carter.

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MEDIA

Boston Buzzes With Rumors of Globe Sale

By Keith Henderson

Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

BOSTON

PERSISTENT rumors about a change of ownership at the Boston Globe have sent tremors through the city, setting columnists and talk shows a-chatter. Reports of an imminent sale have appeared in Time magazine, the Wall Street Journal, and the Boston Herald, with the likely buyer being the New York Times. The reported offer: \$1.09 billion.

Subsequent stories say the Globe has refused. The paper confirms nothing. Asked about the Journal article, Globe spokesman Richard Gulla would say only, "I have no comment on that story, just as I have no comment on the Time story."

Speculation about the sale of the Globe is not easily stifled, though: The family trusts that control the paper's publicly held parent company, Affiliated Publications Inc., will soon expire.

"If it is for sale," says Jonathan

Klarfeld, a professor of journalism at Boston University and a former assistant city editor at the Globe, "it makes perfect sense.... In 1996, when the trusts expire, lots of people with little pieces of the Globe will be looking to convert them into money." Mr. Klarfeld suggests that some members of the far-flung Taylor family (their control of the paper dates from 1872) may feel a "stewardship" obligation that would incline them toward a buyer in tune with their journalistic goals.

To some journalism observers here, the prospect of a New York Times takeover is welcome. "If the Times buys the Globe, it would have a terrifically positive impact," says Kenneth Hartnett, who has worked for both the Herald and the Globe and is now managing editor of "The Group," a current-affairs show on Boston public-TV station WGBH.

"It would be management that would have its priorities in line," says Mr. Hartnett, "to perform its journalistic mission first and foremost." So often, he notes, the only consideration when a news-

paper is bought is the bottom line. And the highly profitable Globe, as one of the few remaining large, independently owned papers in the United States, could be attractive to a number of potential buyers.

But the issues involved in the management or sale of any newspaper today extend beyond concerns about journalistic integrity. Christopher Lydon, a WGBH commentator, observes, "All newspapers are looking ahead to the technology revolution. All are puzzling like crazy how to walk across the canyon - out of the printing business and into the information business."

If the Times, with its huge financial resources, has found that path, Mr. Lydon says, it may be trying to broaden its reach in anticipation of "21st-century electronics." The Globe's command-



PAPER, SIR?: Boston Globe's owners may feel obliged to sell to a group with kindred journalistic principles.

ing position in New England, he says, represents "a glorious territory to land as a franchise." The Times owns a number of newspapers, all of them in the South.

The outcome depends on secret discussions at the Globe. The high cost of newspaper publish-

ing forces people to think in terms of the bottom line, says William Kurtz, who teaches journalism at Northeastern University in Boston.

Other factors could have an impact: Family-run, independent papers have "a certain voice and a certain stake," says Mr. Kurtz. "They're run a little bit differently; they're a little bit more than a business." The Taylor family may want to preserve that difference.

But Robert Jordan, a Globe columnist and head of its largest union, says that the

days of paternalistic leadership at the paper are over. His union has been unable to negotiate a contract with the Globe for the past two years. Mr. Jordan says that all the recent cost-cutting moves at the paper have had one purpose: to make the paper more salable.

Libel Verdict Sends Tremors Through US Newsrooms

By Daniel B. Wood

Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

SAN FRANCISCO

JURY findings here that writer Janet Malcolm libeled psychoanalyst Jeffrey M. Masson with two quotations in a New Yorker magazine article are reverberating across the front pages of American newspapers.

Since the eight jurors could not agree on monetary damages last week, the case awaits Judge Eugene F. Lynch's decision on whether the entire case should be retried or the libel verdict will stand while the damages portion is reargued. (The jurors reportedly deadlocked over whether to award Mr. Masson \$1 or \$1 million.)

Even though the specter of a possible mistrial hangs over the case, analysts say the fact that the jury concluded that Ms. Malcolm defamed her accuser sends powerful warning signals to journalists everywhere.

"In a hard-fought and well-tried case, eight fellow citizens felt the evidence showed libel," says Jay Folberg, dean of the law school at the University of San Francisco. "A very strong, cautionary message regarding the diligence required of reporters in extensive interview situations is there regardless of where this case goes from here."

The verdict is a wake-up call to journalists on the penalty for fabricating quotes, but the case is not expected to set a legal precedent or alter the way most reporters work, say several specialists in media and law.

"The case serves the useful purpose of reinforcing what journalists should be doing - not making stuff up or manipulating quotes to where they are not recognizable," says Tom Goldstein, dean of the Graduate School of Journalism at the University of California, Berkeley. "But the case revolves around such an idiosyncratic

Strong cautionary message sent, though judge could still declare The New Yorker case a mistrial

magazine and such an idiosyncratic reporter that lessons are hard to extrapolate or to generalize."

Media-law specialist Thomas Schwartz, an associate professor of journalism at Ohio State University, Columbus, expects the Malcolm verdict to set off discussions in trade publications and newspaper offices. "But I don't think it will be one of the hallmarks of First Amendment [freedom of the press] jurisprudence," he says.

The eight jurors in Federal District Court here ruled that Malcolm had indeed libeled Mr. Masson in a two-part series Malcolm wrote for The New Yorker in 1983. The articles, totaling 48,500 words, explored Masson's unconventional views on psychoanalysis and were later published as a book. They portrayed Masson as narcissistic, a womanizer, and an academic flake.

MASSON sued in 1984, claiming that the stories were a "total distortion" of interviews that spanned six months and occurred on both coasts. The case has been amended four times and dismissed twice. In 1991, the United States Supreme Court reinstated the case in a landmark decision that set new standards for libel.

"The Supreme Court held that tampering with quotes could constitute actual malice," Mr. Schwartz says. "That is the ruling that is important to remember from this case, because it opened the door for these proceedings and others like them."

"Actual malice," has always been difficult to prove, say media analysts, because it deals with motives and intentions about which convincing evidence is difficult to obtain. The enduring standard - defined as "knowing

falsehood," or "reckless disregard for the truth" - goes back to the most famous libel case in history, New York Times v. Sullivan in 1964.

To show tampering and reckless disregard, prosecutors tried to portray Malcolm as a writer who filled in the blanks of her magazine narrative with fabrications because of lapses in memory and organizational missteps.

"The jury bought the argument that a basic tenet of journalism had been violated," Dean Goldstein says, "that journalists should not make things up."

Though Masson's attorneys said justice had prevailed when the guilty verdict was announced June 3, The New Yorker magazine was absolved of wrongdoing.

"The jury held that Malcolm was an independent contractor and that The New Yorker did not show any malice in the instructions they gave her or in the use they made of her material," Dean Folberg says.

But the magazine stood by its writer. "The New Yorker continues to stand by the integrity of her work and will continue to publish it with pride," editor Tina Brown said in a released statement. "We do not believe that Janet Malcolm libeled Jeffrey Masson in her articles."

Such comments have generated several articles in major publications in which writers and editors debate considerations of style, the creation of narrative, fact checking, and the embellishment of quotes.

"Malcolm is part of a great tradition of new journalists like Truman Capote, Tom Wolfe, and Norman Mailer," Schwartz says, "where writing is more important than reporting." Such books as "In Cold Blood" (Truman Capote) and "The Right Stuff" (Tom Wolfe) tell great truths about society despite the use of composite characters, he says.

"But they are in a separate class from Pulitzer Prize-winners [like] David Broder and Bob Woodward," Schwartz adds. "Readers may hold writers of these differing styles to different standards, but this case shows that if you get sued, you face the consequences."

An Unsanguine Salinger

Newsman who has seen lots of history worries that US is forgetting it

By Keith Henderson

Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

BOSTON

PIERRE SALINGER has seen a lot of history – as captain of a submarine chaser in World War II, as press secretary to President John F. Kennedy, and as ABC News's chief correspondent in Europe for the past 15 years. But he worries that too many people are forgetting the history of the last five decades – and, specifically, the invasion that liberated Western Europe in 1944.

"There has been a loss of memory about what happened in World War II," Mr. Salinger said during a Monitor interview here. In today's "fragile world," he added, the appeasement that allowed the expansion of Hitler's reich and the commitment that reversed that expansion teaches indispensable lessons.

Those lessons will be brought to mind for millions next year on the 50th anniversary of D-Day, the Normandy invasion. Central to the observance will be the Wall of Liberty, which will contain the names of as many of the 5 million American veterans of the war in Europe as possible. Salinger is chairman of the committee gathering the names of veterans and raising money for the memorial.

The Normandy anniversary comes at a poignant moment, when Europe and the United States are having to redefine their relationship after the cold war's end. Salinger recalls that on July 4, 1962, President Kennedy delivered an "extraordinary" speech calling for "a unified Europe linked to the US," a tie that would be "a backbone for the world ahead." We're in the midst of that world, Salinger says, but the "backbone" is still missing. A revised and strengthened US-Europe relationship is essential, he says, if chaos like that in Yugoslavia and among the former Soviet republics is to be quelled.

A 'desperate mistake'

"We made a desperate mistake when communism collapsed – we cheered," Salinger says. "Who was around to say, 'Watch out! When these things break down, there's a potential danger.'"

Salinger vividly remembers the 3-1/2 months he spent in Yugoslavia in 1980, as Marshall Tito lay dying. He did a broadcast on the country's future in which he examined Tito's political legacy – a system of rotating presidents and party bosses from the various republics – and concluded, "It's finished." That assessment took 11 years to materialize, and meanwhile everyone's attention was drawn elsewhere.

With war raging in Bosnia, Americans and Europeans once again are groping toward a common purpose. Salinger sympathizes with the difficulty the Clinton administration has had in defining a policy toward the Balkans, since the situation there – despite widespread news coverage – is not of great concern to the average American.

But now Europeans are being swayed by some of the same stories now shaping American public opinion, he says. The Clinton "haircut" caper, for instance, was made to order for Britain's tabloid press.

Global news ethics

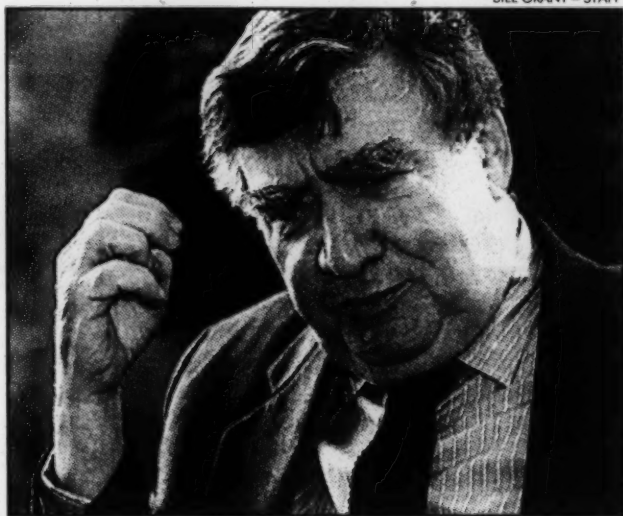
Salinger acknowledges the parallels sometimes drawn between the Clinton and Kennedy administrations – that both represented generational change in US politics and both held up a vision for the future. But there are important differences, the former top Kennedy aide says: "We had lots of young people in the Kennedy administration too, but every one of them had at least five years' experience in Washington."

Salinger is not a knee-jerk defender of his trade, however. Another of his projects, along with the Normandy commemoration, is a proposed international conference on ethical standards in journalism. "I think media ethics are breaking down," he says. "We're in a period of manipulation of information."

An example of this, he says, was the squelching of information indicating that Iran and Syria – not Libya, as publicly proclaimed by Washington – provided support for the bombing of Pan Am flight 103 over Scotland in 1988. The developing Gulf crisis made Washington leery of any confrontation with countries that might be allies against Iraq, Salinger says, and too many journalists were willing to let the government close the book on the Pan Am tragedy.

The ethics question also gets down to the nuts and bolts of journalistic behavior. "If you're going to cover a country, never let your way be paid by the government of the country you'll be visiting," Salinger says, indicating that he sees some broadcasters dropping that standard.

Fabricated stories are another issue. He describes the case of a well-known French news anchorman who visited Cuba and purported to have had an exclusive interview with President Fidel Castro Ruz, which later turned out to be press conference footage doctored to look like an interview. "The company defended him," Salinger says, "and he's still there."



BILL GRANT - STAFF

SALINGER: He says the post-communist world lacks a 'backbone,' a stronger US-European alliance.

By contrast, Salinger says, Europeans are "quite nervous about what's going on there." They worry about what it means for the future of European unity, he says. "But there are so many problems inside these countries – they're thinking of their own problems, too." He cites the sagging fortunes of Prime Minister John Major's government in Britain and Germany's continuing reunification agonies.

Then there's Europe's struggle toward greater unity. Salinger notes, for example, that only one country – tiny Luxembourg – has conformed to the rules regarding debt, interest, and other financial issues that will underpin the long-proposed currency union.

As Europe stumbles along, a young administration in Washington is struggling to find its own footing. Salinger says European publics – unlike their governments, which favored George Bush – were often supportive of President Clinton in last year's campaign.

Unknown Spaniard Serves Up an Upset

SUNDAY'S victory by 22-year-old Sergi Bruguera at the French Open tournament must surely be one of the biggest upsets in recent tennis history.

The 10th-seeded Bruguera had never reached the finals of a major tournament. His opponent, pre-tournament favorite American Jim Courier, had won two consecutive French Opens and 20 straight matches in the tournament in recent years.

Bruguera, the first Spaniard to win the French Open since Andres Gimeno in 1972, used a powerful baseline game to win 6-4, 2-6, 6-2, 3-6, 6-3. He had been 0-4 against Courier in their previous matches.

There had been some early signs that Bruguera might be able to pull off the upset. He had been one of the hottest clay-court players on the tour this year, winning the Monte Carlo event and reaching two other finals. Among his victims on his way to the French title was top-seeded American Pete Sampras.

Bonds' bat, new amenities please Giants fans

So far, the local investors group that stepped in to buy the San Francisco Giants – after a deal to flee to Florida's Tampa-St. Petersburg area was nixed – is on a roll. The group has made a lot of good moves. The result has been a division-leading team (36-21 through Saturday) that seems in sync with its market.

Maybe the boldest decision was to spend \$43 million to sign free agent outfielder Barry Bonds to a six-year contract. Even for a two-time National League Most Valuable Player, that's a frightening amount of money. But his batting statistics through last weekend – a .376 average (2nd in the National League); 48 runs scored (1st); 41 RBI (5th); 71 hits (1st); 16 doubles (tied for 2nd); 4 triples (tied for 3rd); 14 homers (tied for 2nd) – show he's generally earning his keep, if that's really possible.

Besides being an exceptional player, Bonds adds interest for fans who watched his dad, Bobby, now a Giants coach, succeed Willie Mays in center field for the Giants in the 1960s.

An all-around talent like his father, Barry has averaged more than 30 home runs, 100 runs batted in, and 40 stolen bases the last three years, making him the only player to achieve the 30-100-40 level over three consecutive seasons.

If Bonds has set the pace on the field, Dusty Baker has established a winning atmosphere in the clubhouse and dugout. The Giants ownership deserves credit for promoting him from within the organization to be the team's manager, despite being one of the coaches last year when the team finished 26 games out.

Even if the franchise wavers on the field, its efforts to bring fresh thought to bear on virtually every aspect of the operation should pay dividends. Some of the changes have been major, such as erecting bleachers, now filled with enthusiastic fans. The popular Grateful Dead rock group sang the national anthem on opening day. Concessions have been upgraded to appeal to the city's educated taste buds. Golden-agers (Spry Seniors) have been recruited to serve as ball boys and ball girls. Even between-innings trash pickup points to a newfound attention to detail.

The Giants have even increased the number of home day games at Candlestick Park from 42 to 53, out of 81, because daytime temperatures at the "Stick" are often much more pleasant than those at night.

Touching other bases

■ It's one thing for the National Hockey League to add franchises in places like Tampa Bay, Fla., and San Jose, Calif., but how can it let a team in the American hockey heartland – the Minnesota North Stars – move to Dallas? The North Stars begin their Texas tenure next season.

■ Baseball's best-named cheap-seats section – the Rockpile – belongs to the expansion Colorado Rockies. Admission: \$1.

■ The Pan American Games, which are sort of a hemispheric Olympics, are adding water-skiing to the program in 1995 in Argentina.

Duke Cullimore, the executive director of the sport in the United States, says it's too early to know what the "long-range implications" are. It probably doesn't mean acceptance into the Olympics, however. Motorboating was a sport in the 1908 London Games, but it was dropped.

— Ross Atkin and Gregory M. Lamb

WORTH NOTING ON TV

By Elizabeth Levitan Spaid

WEDNESDAY

Summer Celebration (CBS, 8-9 p.m. E.T.): Ann Jillian, Deidre Hall, and Jack Hanna join Dick Clark, Stephanie Powers, and other stars to honor the environmental efforts of young people. Part of the show will take the viewer through three parks — Sea World of Orlando, Fla. and San Diego, and Busch Gardens of Tampa, Fla. — and spotlight some of the parks' new exhibits and their efforts to save certain species. "Pledge and promise" awards will be given to student groups in four categories: kindergarten through 5th grade, 6th to 8th, 9th to 12th, and college. Some of the environmental projects these young people have undertaken include a group in Utah that saved a creek and a fourth-grade class that established a recycling project.

NBA Finals (NBC, 9-11:30 p.m. E.T.): The first game of the best-of-seven series pits the Chicago Bulls against the Phoenix Suns in Phoenix. It's been 17 years since the Suns last played for a championship title. This year's Most Valuable Player, Charles Barkley (Suns), and Michael Jordan (Bulls) — the MVP for the previous two years — will face each other in a championship that some are dubbing the "Charles and Michael Show."

MTV Movie Awards (MTV, 9-11 p.m. E.T.): It's not a traditional movie-awards show by any means. You won't find "best director," "best musical score," or some of the other conventional categories that pop up each year on the Oscars. The MTV Movie Awards, now in its second year, features off-beat categories such as best kiss, best villain, best on-screen duo, and best comedic performance. Hosted by Eddie Murphy, the show boasts its own list of stars who will present and perform: Denzel Washington, Mel Gibson, Rod Stewart, Duran Duran, Whitney Houston, and Marisa Tomei are a sampling.

Please check local listings for all programs.

PHOTOGRAPHY

© WILLIAM CLIFT/PHOTOGRAPHS COURTESY OF THE EQUITABLE GALLERY, NEW YORK



'CAR, SHIPROCK, NEW MEXICO': William Clift's 1975 image shows the photographer's skill at capturing visual energy.

Images That Animate Landscape

By David C. Walters

Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

NEW YORK

WILLIAM CLIFT started taking photographs when he was 10 years old and has never looked back. "The Photographs of William Clift: 1956-1992" — a retrospective of his work — is on display at the Equitable Gallery here through June 12. More than anything else, the exhibit points to a little appreciated American treasure. Clift's photographs sustain an exceptionally high level of quality throughout his four decades of work.

Clift was born in Boston in 1944, and that city served as the photographer's earliest subject as he developed a specialization in architectural photography. When he moved his family to Santa Fe, N.M. in 1971, Clift changed his focus to landscapes.

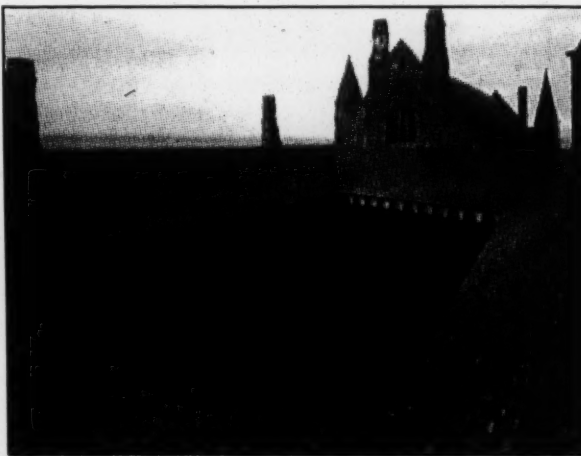
Taken with a large-format camera, black-and-white landscapes have become Clift's signature creation. This show also includes a group of 40 color photographs (mainly portraits of family members) taken with a Polaroid Spectra camera. While they are interesting, the color photographs lack the subtlety of the photographer's black-and-white landscapes.

Many photographs on display are master prints drawn from Clift's personal collection. Photo-

graphs from a series chronicling American county courthouses for the United States Bicentennial and a number of Clift's Hudson River landscapes are also included in the exhibit.

Despite his range of themes, Clift never appears to be chasing trends. His powerful images coax the exquisite beauty of a landscape out of its hiding place in a careful way.

Clift often creates a dramatic stage by using expanses of flat land in the foreground with a backdrop of mountains in the distance.



'CLOISTERS, MONT ST. MICHEL, FRANCE': By Clift, 1982.

As in photographs of lunar landscapes, where most of the scenery is left to the imagination of the viewer, Clift's work relies on the observer to put forth some effort. But he always goads the imagination.

In "Little River, New Mexico: 1992," a silvery river leaps like a neon snake out of a sleeping landscape. In "Fence, Aspens, Santa Fe: 1974," shimmering aspen trees appear to jump out of the

dark forest at the viewer.

In a monograph accompanying an earlier exhibit, Clift wrote: "I am not a photographer who goes from place to place in search of dramatic moments. It is more interesting to dig and delve."

Clift often uses perfectly placed shadows that appear almost as substantial as rocks and mountains.

"Landscapes are partly a response to the geological architecture of the land," Clift writes. "Though many images are of natural scenes, they are not meant solely to glorify nature."

Clift has compared the vast landscapes of New Mexico to the wide ocean expanses he became familiar with while growing up on the East Coast. The sea always seems to be alive — moving and changing — and Clift has discovered how to capture similar restless currents of visual energy playing over the dry land.

"I am more drawn to that land where certain energies are closer to the surface," he writes. "In certain of these places primordial forces seem right at the edge of visible action."

Clift's photographs do seem to hum with a delicately balanced, almost perceptible tension.

■ 'A Hudson Landscape,' containing 46 Clift photographs and an accompanying text by the poet Paul Kane, has recently been published by William Clift Editions.

BROADWAY BASKS IN TONY AWARD GLORY

NEW YORK

■ Broadway's old guard held off a rock-and-roll invasion as "Kiss of the Spider Woman" won best-musical honors at the 1993 Tony Awards Sunday night, beating out "The Who's Tommy."

"Angels in America: Millennium Approaches," Tony Kushner's examination of the national psyche in the age of AIDS, added four Tonys — including best play — to its roster of awards, which already includes this year's Pulitzer Prize.

The main suspense Sunday was in the contest between "Kiss of the Spider Woman" and "Tommy," the one-time anthem of rock rebellion reworked for the stage.

Pete Townshend, author of "Tommy," and John Kander and Fred Ebb, the veteran songwriting team behind "Spider Woman," shared the Tony for best score.

"Tommy" also captured awards for its MTV-inspired sets (John Arnone), lighting (Chris Parry) and choreography (Wayne Cilento). And its director, Des McAnuff, beat out Broadway's most successful director of musicals, Harold Prince, who directed "Kiss of the Spider Woman."

But that production, in addition to winning best musical and score, won Tonys for its stars, veteran Chita Rivera, newcomer Brent Carver, and featured actor Anthony Crivello. Terence McNally won for the musical's book, and Florence Klotz picked up the Tony for best costumes.

As expected, "Angels in America," was named best play of the 1992-93 Broadway season. It also won awards for best actor, Ron Leibman; director, George C. Wolfe; and featured actor, Stephen Spinella.

Four other shows picked up one prize each.

Madeline Kahn, who plays the comic sister in "The Sisters Rosensweig," won the Tony as best actress in a play.

Featured actress in a play, Debra Monk in "Redwood Curtain," and featured actress in a musical, Andrea Martin in "My Favorite Year," both were in shows that have closed. So has Eugene O'Neill's "Anna Christie," which won a Tony as best revival.

The Tony presented to a regional theater, along with \$25,000 from the American Express travelers check group, went this year to California's La Jolla Playhouse, where "Tommy" originated.

— Associated Press

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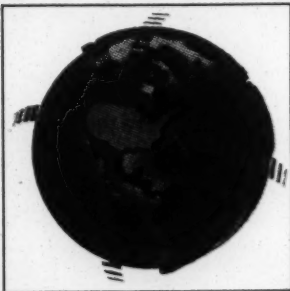
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The Home Forum

Passage Back to India

WHEN I first met her, I had just returned from three years overseas. During one, I had trained as a junior United States Information Service officer in Brussels; during the second two, I had served in two branch posts in the Congo in Central Africa.

So it was a delight to meet a young woman who had also lived overseas. She had grown up as a "foreign-service brat" in India, Greece, and South Africa. As a college student, she had studied in Europe, visited her parents in Cambodia, and traveled with them when her father served as a foreign-service inspector in Latin America.

On our first date she told me about India: tales of the Ambassador Hotel where snake charmers and men with trained monkeys and dancing bears came to fascinate foreigners; stories of Amir the cook and Piara the bearer and the maharaja's palace where she lived as a child. Since we had just met, it did not occur to me that one day I would see these places.

But now she is back in Delhi – and I am with her. We have been married 25 years. It is winter. The days are pleasant; the nights crisp. At dusk, kites and pigeons and green parrots swoop into the garden outside our hotel window. The parrot squawkings offer a counterpoint to the blits and the blats of traffic.

At dawn, acrid mist blurs the outlines of what's visible of the city from our room. Donanne opens the window, breathes deeply of the pungent haze, and announces that its smell returns her to her childhood more forcefully than does our actual presence in Delhi.

When Donanne lived here from 1952 to 1954 – she had her tenth birthday less than a month after her family arrived – India's population was 360 million. Forty years later it exceeds 900 million. An increase of half a billion people makes a difference.

But it's a difference I do not see. For my part, I am charmed by Indians. I relish consorting with people who have a 4,000 year history. And the truth is, India seems less crowded than I anticipated. Somehow I

had imagined that the whole country would be as densely populated as a Calcutta slum. It's not.

I'm more optimistic about India's future than I expected to be. The bullock carts are mainly gone – though they live on in the stories of Donanne's childhood. (Such a cart brought her family's liftvan to their new home in the maharaja's former palace at 1 Bhagwan Dass Road.) The tongas, horse-drawn carriages, have been replaced by three-wheeled motor-scooter rickshaws known as tuk-tuks (because their motors go tuk-tuk-tuk).

MY reading tells me that a rising standard of living may be breaking down India's caste system – although the young man, well-spoken and impeccably mannered, who met our 2:00 a.m. flight would not deign to lift a bag. The question is: Can India overcome the challenges of caste, violent factional strife, overpopulation, and potential drought?

Driving into Delhi from the airport – it was 3:30 a.m. by then – I heard Donanne

gasp. She had caught a glimpse of the Ambassador Hotel. I knew the sight of it was catapulting her back across the years to the times when snake charmers set up on the small lawn and imprinted themselves forever in the experience of wide-eyed 10-year-olds.

We visited the hotel the next day. I let Donanne walk about and photograph the place alone. It's rather shabby now, with the small lawn fenced, but it still evokes memories.

The building that housed the American Embassy where my father-in-law worked as a personnel officer is still standing. A minor government building now, its arches – a whole row of them – are covered with plywood into which doors have been cut. In the small garden out front, men sleep and play cards.

As the cab took us along Bhagwan Dass Road, Donanne grew excited. Some of the buildings along it had not changed. "Oh, I remember that one!" she would exclaim. Would the maharaja's palace still stand at No. 1? That was her big question.

ILLUSTRATION BY POLLY BECKER



Letters Home, 1952-54

IN June, 1952, Donald Ralston, newly assigned as a personnel officer to the American Embassy in New Delhi, took his wife Tommyanne and their nine-year-old daughter Donanne to India.

The following are excerpts of letters Tommyanne wrote from India to her family in California.

The accompanying essay recounts Donanne's reactions to returning to India after 38 years.

June 20, 1952

Dear Lambs,

Embassy people met [our plane] and had a small welcoming party. It was 100 degrees and not too humid with a breeze. They were pleased to see Donanne. She is the tenth child, and now they can start a school.

Our hotel [has] big ceiling fans like you see in movies like "Casablanca," and we run them day and night. After two nights we graduated to a desert cooler. Friday we move to a real air-conditioned room where we will live for two to four months.

People are friendly and interesting. At supper one evening where they had a pet antelope; the host shot a bat with a two-foot wingspread as we watched. The bearer thinks bat-meat curry once a month is good.

June 23, 1952

We have been interviewing Indian persons to serve as bearer or cook, sweeper or dhobi.

Since there is no getting around this business of household

help, the best thing to do is keep it to a minimum and get those who have good-sounding letters from previous employers.

It is our duty to house the cook and bearer and their families on the premises. You also supply the uniform and approximately \$16 per month for the bearer, and in return he runs your establishment.

One has to have a sweeper. I wish you could see the one around this hotel. He sits on his haunches and sweeps a damp rag from one side to the other. Then swaps it around the windowsills, cleans out the bathroom, and the "sweeping" is done for the day.

They have just given us all the thrill of filling out an application for an apartment. It will house seven families. We all may have the fun of guessing the rest of this week as to whether we'll make it and where we'll get the food to put in the kitchen, as it looks like the housing may open up before the commissary does. ... Won't it be sad if we leave the hotel; we'll have to eat without an orchestra.

July 31, 1952

We have moved into a lovely apartment.

August 5, 1952

We live on a lovely avenue of trees that meet across the top. Big grounds and gardens and a circular drive. The building is white stucco, a former maharaja's palace. Our apartment is bright and cheerful, and the living room has three exposures. Each room

has a fireplace, which they say will be needed in winter with these 15-foot ceilings. Right now the bedroom air conditioners are much appreciated.

August 14, 1952

When the "meat wallah" comes, he has a little bag in which he brings the water buffalo file mignon – "undercut," they call it – and he drags it out with a few neem leaves around because they are believed healthy, also a few grains of dirt. You show signs of approval as there's no English there, and if you try a word of Hindi you get such a stream of reply you're swamped.

You take the meat to the kitchen and wash it well and slice it just as you wish, wrap it in wax paper and then freeze it, because it has probably just left the cow and you like the idea of some sort of slight curing.

We are learning to stand back when you pull the drapes in order that the lizards and crickets may fall free.

This is really a good life, and we enjoy it. The weather is getting nicer and that is "Acha," as they say – "Best."

Donanne has a little girl over for lunch and they're happily playing dress-ups.

Bread is delivered via bicycle, also milk (which has to be boiled) and meat. The cook does the buying of the vegetables, and I usually get the butter and cheese.

So far we have had coming by: the sari man again, the basket man with chairs, too, the Kashmir

And I knew, that in her mind she was seeing the sprawling single story building, its stucco painted white, with large gardens where seven American families lived. She was seeing the Indians who peopled her life: Amir and Piara, both Muslims, and the Hindu sweeper and the chowkidar, and the dhobi, the washerman, returning with the family laundry wrapped in a sheet and carried on his head. Appearing in her mind was the parade of itinerant merchants who arrived on bicycles, some with silks and brassware, others with gems wrapped in paper, and still others with freshly-butchered meat. And I knew that still very much a part of these pictures was a pre-adolescent girl playing in the garden.

When we arrived at 1 Bhagwan Dass Road, all we could see was a high metal fence with Indian guards placed at the entrance of the property. The maharaja's palace has been demolished. A two-story building with 12 town houses, we are told, stands in its place. From the little we could glimpse, the architecture is indifferent and not Indian. But what counts is the fence.

It permits representatives of the Land of the Free to live in a kind of posh prison. When a middle-aged American woman with a camera and some memories asks to be allowed to look inside the gate, she is told that she cannot.

So Donanne is experiencing a strange feeling of loss. She is confronting a past for which the markers no longer exist. It is a small matter; it happens to all of us. Still, I do not like watching her confront it.

After a week in India, Donanne makes her peace with what it is and what she remembers it being. Out in the countryside and in smaller cities, horse tongas still clatter along. And bullock carts still clog the roads. The noise and bustle and smells of India turn out not to have changed all that much.

One has the sense, in fact, not so much of loss as of there being something eternal about India. Donanne has reconnected with that eternal something. Her return trip has closed a circle.

Frederic Hunter

man with jewelry and embroideries and carved wood bits. We mostly look.

September 4, 1952

Wouldn't it be nice if our furniture would just get here. When we found it had been in Bombay over a month and hadn't even been cleared for customs yet, we decided we'd just have to have a few people in anyway with our four dishes. By this week's end we will have dined eight guests, two at a time.

September 22, 1952

Think Donanne did the letter honors last week as what with the furniture arriving, somewhat mildewed, we were speechless. At least the rains had not poured in and the sea crept up, as happened with one of our neighbors' belongings, and ruined them.

The furniture liftvans arrived by bullock cart. As the bullocks tried to get through the gate, the cart began to knock down the brick entrance posts. So the driver unleashed the bullocks, and seven men in all proceeded to jack the 5,000 lbs and, using leverage, finally rounded the corner. Approx one hour to get the last 100 feet, but it's done!

May 15, 1953

Wednesday a.m. we went over to the chancery and heard Governor Adlai Stevenson in a brief speech.

We had a garden supper on a hot, blustery evening last week. US candles simply turned over in

half an hour of 95 degree heat and popped hurricane lamps. Indian candles at about three cents each stood up fine.

June 28, 1953

Tuesday morning we girls went shopping, and while we were in a textile shop, they quickly closed the doors as a mob was coming along insisting that all shops recognize the death of a pro-communist by closing down. We left the shop and in the car got into more of the same mob about a mile away. One man came over with frowns and fists and told us to get out of the place. Fortunately the mob turned up another street just then.

July 5, 1953

On our way back from our swim at the pool yesterday afternoon, Donanne said, "Look!" And the sky from horizon to horizon and maybe 1,000 feet deep was loaded with locusts! They had not been starving because, as the children said, "It's raining fertilizer!" So we covered our heads with umbrellas and went to the roof. They changed course twice during the hour we kept checking and are still there this morning.

December 10, 1953

Last night we attended an Indian wedding in full style. The groom arrived on horseback, decked with flowers all over his head and streamers of them down over his face. The horse was highly decorated with brass and velvet drapings, with a fancy um-

brella atop. The "do" started at 7:00 and we left at 12:00 as Donanne was with us. It will last four days in all.

January 4, 1954

A couple of days after Christmas we headed for a spot called Kathgodam and a bit of rest....

Thursday we hired three huge elephants. We got aboard by standing on the elephant's hind leg as he knelt. Then off through a jungle area that was to produce pythons and panthers! The elephants cleared the way and picked up anything that was dropped, and it was just wonderful. The elephants purred along at times like a tractor motor.

One night we went out in a jeep with a battery searchlight. And saw a tiger! He was within 10 feet of the jeep and about 25 feet away as we stopped to gaze in admiration. The biggest, most beautiful tiger I've ever seen - bar all zoos - and he just looked at us for about 15 seconds before we whispered too much and he made a gorgeous leap from his spot in the mustard field across our road into the high and protective sugar cane. An unforgettable sight!

March 23, 1954

Well, we have an inkling of maybe being sent next to Greece. Athens is very nice, they say.

We are sweating this wait out again as it's starting to heat up now. But we're all fine and happy and busy.

Much love and love,
Tommyanne

Preparation Of the Heart

IT was an important meeting! And believe me, I prepared for it. I did the research. I mulled over strategies for persuading people to adopt my idea. I practiced my presentation. I planned rebuttals. But when the meeting took place, nothing happened the way I expected. New information was presented that touched me deeply enough that I dropped my strategies and agreed to something far better than I had outlined. Afterward, I realized that all my preparing had left out the most important preparation of all—the preparation of the heart.

This was just one meeting. What about the larger picture of our lives? Sometimes we're not able to do what we think we most want. Does that mean we can't find fulfillment—that we can't find the good we long for in our lives? No! When we're willing to accept what God has in store for us, we're able to make a contribution that is perhaps beyond anything we'd dreamed of doing.

We can find this peace of spiritual fulfillment because of the nature of God. He is divine Love itself. This Love, because it is God, is universal; it is infinite in its extent, and it's all-powerful. Divine Love creates man and gives each of us a full, spiritual identity. Because we reflect God, divine Spirit, we are intelligent, beautiful, and unique.

The love of God can bless each of us, wherever we are and whatever honest and good work we are doing. This is not to say that this makes everything rosy. But is this surprising? Hardly! Christ Jesus lived the most purely spiritual life anyone has ever seen. His life was completely unselfed—there was not a shred of ego or hope for personal gain in it. Yet, worldly thought rejected his precious, hard-earned message and tried to slay him, the great teacher of God's love for man.

As his followers we shouldn't be surprised if we have challenges to face, as well. The Founder of the Christian Science Church, Mary Baker Eddy, speaks of what his followers have to face when she says in her book *Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures*: "The followers of Christ drank his cup. Ingratitude and persecution filled it to the brim; but God pours the riches of His love into the understanding and affections, giving us strength according to our day."

In terms of our outward lives, sometimes things do not work out as we had hoped. But as we turn more and more to God's presence and love—allowing that to rule our thought and actions—we'll feel His love pouring into our lives, bringing us joy and fulfillment beyond what we could have expected or planned for. But we have to be ready, and willing to accept the good that God is giving us every moment.

This is the preparation of the heart that is more vital to us than getting ready for a meeting, no matter how important. Sometimes Jesus speaks of this preparation in terms of weddings. Remember the five watchful women in Jesus' parable in Matthew's Gospel? They faithfully kept themselves supplied with oil while awaiting the bridegroom. Can't we see this as showing how they were faithful in keeping their hearts prepared for the coming of Christ? Our own preparation of our heart to receive God's saving love readies us to stand, like John, as a "friend of the bridegroom" and rejoice in the coming of Christ, Truth. John said, "He that hath the bride is the bridegroom: but the friend of the bridegroom, which standeth and heareth him, rejoiceth greatly because of the bridegroom's voice: this my joy therefore is fulfilled."

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"First the blade, then the ear, then the full grain in the ear."

Surrogacy's Perils

THE phrase "genetic stranger" seems an inappropriate way to describe a mother's relationship to the baby she has delivered. But that is the term the California Supreme Court used recently in explaining why Anna Johnson should not have parental rights to a son she bore as a surrogate for Mark and Crispina Calvert, using their sperm and egg.

Although the couple had agreed to pay Ms. Johnson \$10,000, she changed her mind during the pregnancy three years ago. The two parties have been locked in a bitter custody dispute ever since.

In ruling for the Calverts, the court upheld the legality of contracts for surrogate motherhood, rendering them enforceable. The decision, which Johnson's attorney has vowed to appeal to the US Supreme Court, gives Christopher Calvert a secure home with his biological parents.

That seems best, under the circumstances. Yet the protracted case serves as the latest reminder that surrogate motherhood is fraught with peril, sometimes placing newborns in the middle of biological and emotional tugs of war between too many loving parents. Phrases such as "gestational host," along with distinctions between "birth mothers" and "legal mothers," hint at the ways in which medical technology is changing the legal definition of maternity.

An estimated 20,000 surrogate births have occurred in the United States during the past 10 years. It has been seven years since the infant girl known as Baby M first catapulted the subject onto the front page. More recently, in another celebrated case, Arlette Schweitzer of South Dakota served as the surrogate mother for her twin grandchildren. Surrogacy has apparently become so accepted that the California high court's ruling on the Calvert-Johnson case last

month received little media attention. Yet it is far too soon for complacency about commercial and contractual parenthood. When stran-

gers turn childbearing into a paid venture, creating varying possibilities for biological linkage, troubling legal, ethical, and moral questions arise.

The deep yearning for a child of one's own deserves the utmost respect and compassion. With or without laws, surrogacy arrangements will continue. But just because technological advances make these births possible does not mean they should be encouraged.

At a time when millions of children grow up in single-parent families, the prospect of three or four loving parents may appear to be an embarrassment of riches. But as the parents of Baby M and Christopher Calvert can attest, too much of a good thing may sometimes be worse than not enough.

EDITORIALS

A New Role for the REA

MANY rural, or formerly rural, Americans have fond memories of the advent of the Rural Electrification Administration (REA) some 57 years ago.

For a schoolchild it meant the end of doing one's homework with head bent low to catch the weak light from a kerosene lamp. It also meant telephones could be used with greater reliability.

The rural electric cooperatives that sprang up throughout the United States were subsidized by the federal government, particularly in the form of very low interest rates on loans. In recent years Congress, presidents, and the public have begun to question the imbalance between the REA's subsidies and their effects on other segments of the nation. Some have suggested that it has served its earlier purposes and should either revert to the private sector or at least pay more of its own way.

In what seems to be an eminently sensible compromise, given a friendly nudge by the Clinton administration, the REA seems headed for a name change and a role change: It will, Congress approving, become the Rural Utilities Division of the Rural Develop-

ment Administration.

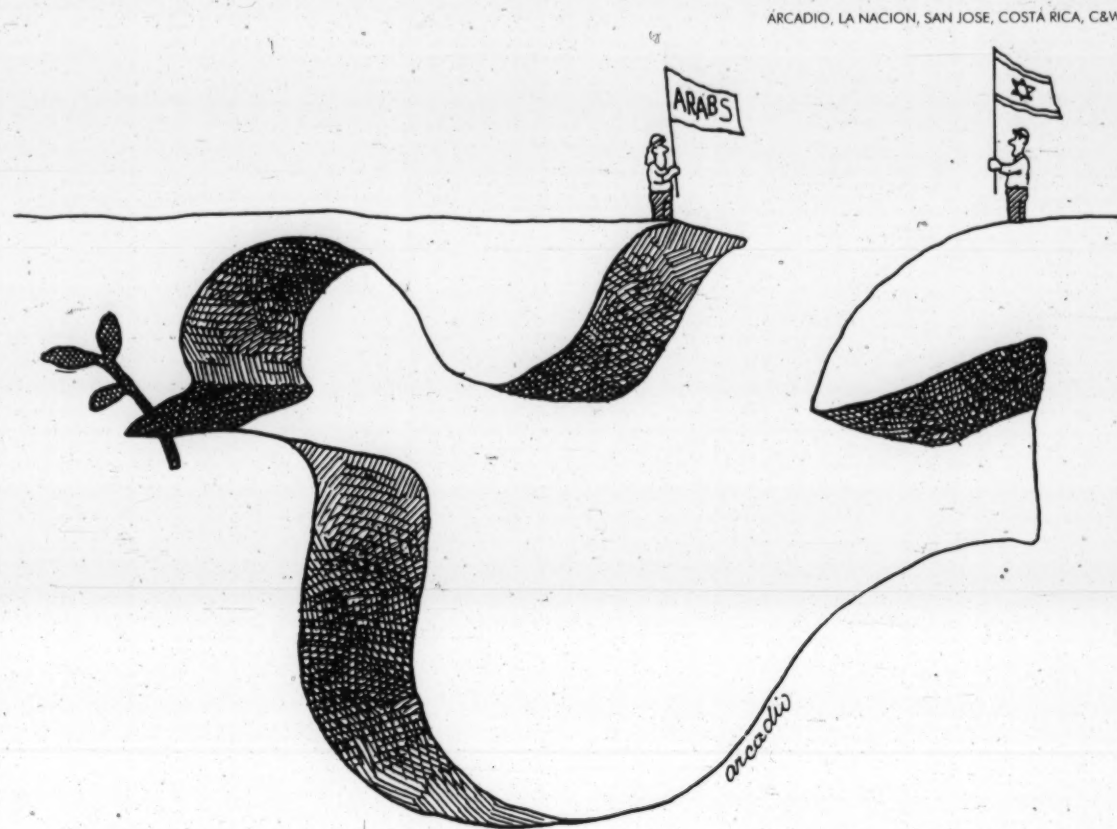
Its new challenge will be to provide funding for rural water and sewer systems, said to be much in need of modernization.

Bob Bergland, secretary of agriculture in the Carter administration, now executive vice president of the National Rural Electric Cooperative, says the next step in bringing economic parity to rural areas is to approach it "in the same way that the REA addressed the question of electrification."

Reforms engineered by US Rep. Glenn English (D) of Oklahoma feature a three-tiered loan system to weed out organizations that do not need subsidized loans. The rural electrical utilities will continue to have reasonable, as well as realistic, rates.

At a time when many government initiatives seem to show little tangible progress, this spinoff from the proven success of REA (soon, apparently, to be RUD) is heartening evidence that America is still capable of both engineering and political success.

Thus, a system that has proved itself over many years shifts its sights to meet to the needs of a changing American society.



ARCADIO, LA NACION, SAN JOSE, COSTA RICA, C&WS

Syria's Assad, Israelis Sit Tight

By Richard W. Murphy

AS Arabs and Israelis prepare themselves for the upcoming round of Middle East peace talks in June, attention once again focuses on which party is most likely to produce a new initiative. The safest assumption is: not Syria.

Regional leaders have told me in recent weeks that they believe Israelis and Palestinians should be able to reach an interim agreement this year. This will be good in itself. Equally important, such an agreement will provide an incentive for Syria to develop its thoughts about the meaning of full peace and will relieve Jordan and Lebanon of their inhibitions about negotiating a final settlement. The problems that each of these three has with Israel are much less complex than are those of the Palestinians.

President Hafez al-Assad resents that Syria's negotiations should be held hostage to those of any other party, but at this juncture we should not wait for him.

Mr. Assad is heading toward negotiations with Israel carefully and deliberately. He has sent several signals indicating Syria's new orientation by making changes in Syrian rhetoric. These changes tend to be too lightly dismissed by American commentators. Fortunately the Israelis pay them more heed. They took careful note last summer of Assad's statement about Syrian readiness for the "peace of the brave" and, more recently, that Syria will give "full peace for full withdrawal." They also appreciated that he instructed his delegation last fall to present a paper outlining Syria's position on the principles for an Israeli-Syrian settlement. Although Israelis found its terms unacceptable, they recognized the significance of Syria having tabled a paper.

Assad has placed two basic conditions on the outcome of Syria's negotiations with Israel. The first is that a Syrian-Israeli settlement must form part of a comprehensive settlement between Israel and all those with whom it is negotiating: Jordan, Palestine, Lebanon, and

Syria. The second is that Syria regain sovereignty over the Golan Heights, occupied by Israel since 1967. If those basic conditions are met, there should be no insuperable problems once Syrian-Israeli talks begin, though the talks will be tough and extended.

Assad has explicitly said he has no set timetable in mind and his two basic conditions can be implemented in stages. The current debate in Israel about the possibility of reaching peace with Syria is wide ranging. What was unthinkable a short time ago is now a topic of public debate. But Israeli mistrust of Syrian intentions runs deep. That mistrust is mirrored in Damascus, which views Israel's military presence on the Heights as a direct threat. Only 50 miles of flat terrain separate the present cease-fire lines from the Syrian capital.

FOR now, Assad will likely withhold any new initiative. He is by no means convinced that Israel will agree to a complete withdrawal from the Heights. He has heard Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin speak of withdrawal "on" Golan but not of withdrawal "from" Golan.

Mr. Rabin is not likely even to hint at full withdrawal from Golan until he receives considerably more detailed proposals from Damascus to help persuade the skeptical Israeli public that Syria is serious about peace.

Assad cannot conceive of a "full peace" with Israel that does not return to Damascus sovereignty over the whole of the Golan Heights. He will not accept less in this regard than the late President Anwar Sadat achieved in 1979 by regaining Egyptian sovereignty over all of Sinai. Nor can he conceive of a separate peace with Israel that ignores the Palestinians. The Syrian president can sit on his hands until Israel commits itself to a full withdrawal from Golan. To counter this, Washington should concentrate on helping Israel and the Palestinians negotiate an interim agreement on autonomy in the West Bank and Gaza.

Richard W. Murphy is a senior fellow for Middle East relations at the Council on Foreign Relations in New York.

OPINION/ESSAYS

Bring UN Into the Process

US has taken the Middle East peace talks as far as it can alone

By Clovis Maksoud

THE United States must take a fresh look at the status of the Middle East peace talks.

For nine rounds the US has painstakingly sought to ascertain and define points of divergence and possible elements of agreement. The contentious aspects in the talks remain. In deference to power, Arab parties will most probably resume talks this month. But they will do so with a growing conviction that the process is being routinized, thus constituting a license for Israel to persist in procrastination and provocations.

This is perhaps the time for the US to signal that the UN should complete the task the US undertook after the Madrid Conference in October 1991.

So-called realists among all parties have assumed that flaws in US foreign policy on the Arab-Israeli conflict are built in and that by accepting US sponsorship the Arab parties acquiesced to this constraint: The agenda and terms of reference often are set by US administrations; the policy that ensues must be tailored to suit pro-Israel congressional biases; and although minor fluctuations in the degree of bias are at times discernable, any tilt toward evenhandedness is ultimately followed by apology or retraction.

Realists also argue that by dealing with the conflict solely within the context of US sponsorship, it is possible to modify US policy and its role in the process. The paradox: All parties expect to modify US policy in their respective directions. Yet expectations far exceed Washington's capacity to deliver.

The late Anwar Sadat's premise that "99 percent of the cards are in the US's hands" now dominates Arab realists' views. The immediate result is to put the Arab negotiating teams in a position where they must argue for their rights rather than ensure Israel's compliance with what the world community has recognized as Arabs' inalienable national rights. This form of Arab "realism" renders meekness a virtue, pleading a pattern, and endless patience a sign of moderation. It constitutes a prescription for an Arab rebellion against any peace option.

In these circumstances, Israel finds that it only has to repackage "proposals," "working papers," or "non-working papers" in order to buy time, consolidate Israel's control, and provide the US with the necessary semantic alterations to persuade Arab parties to continue in a process that nobody – not even Arab and American realists – believes can bring a substantive, credible, durable outcome.

In order to pursue a comprehensive and just peace, the portfolio of the nine rounds must become the principal text and basis for the UN Security Council to examine, study, and evolve in order to comply with its various relevant resolutions.

The US, with its built-in constraints, cannot unilaterally (with due respect to Russia's cosponsorship) manage the peace process. But it can and should continue to play the pivotal role to salvage the peace it assiduously seeks.

The US is no longer alone on Middle East issues in the United Nations. Since the Gulf war, its input in setting the agenda of the Security Council has been decisive. President Clinton has shown a readiness to delegate to the UN functions that were treated as exclusive US or Western prerogatives.

Even Israel can no longer consider the UN as "unfriendly" territory. Hence the arguments that were put forward by the US and Israel against UN intervention are no longer relevant, if they ever

were. Who besides the UN Security Council can be expected to weigh in favor of an objective, fair, and precise interpretation of its own resolutions, which form the basis of the nine rounds and the entire US-sponsored peace process. Security Council Resolutions 242, 338, 425, and 799 await a collective interpretation to allow speedy implementation. To leave the UN Security Council out of this longstanding regional conflict undermines the prospects of peace in the Middle East while making it easier for future violators of international law, UN resolutions, and human rights, to defy the world community's will and commitments.

One fundamental issue blocks any consequential step toward resolving this conflict: Israel does not acknowledge, let alone recognize, that it is an occupying power in territories it captured in June 1967. While the US considers these territories occupied, it refrains from translating its judgment into policy. By entrusting the UN with the responsibility to address and resolve this conflict, the US will, among other things, bring its policy closer to its judgments on the Middle East. Only then can the US introduce the level of consistency and balance necessary to speed the resolution of this conflict.

Some in the US, especially pro-Israel groups, might consider this recourse a "failure," or at least a setback. Israel initially would put up a vigorous campaign against such a recourse to the UN. It will contrive paranoid scenarios about "ganging up against Israel." Even those who might favor greater UN involvement will try to invoke the threat of a rightist Likud takeover.

ISRAEL must be expected to oppose because its violations and behavior will be subject to credible scrutiny, and its defiance of international law will be checked. Israel's ability to confront will diminish, making it easier to persuade or pressure it to comply with the UN resolutions. Being the exception to the rule of law will cease as the cost of its intransigence increases. While the US will continue to underwrite Israel's secure existence, within the context of the UN it will be freed from domestic pressure to underwrite Israel's excesses.

Arab patience should not be taken for granted. True, some Arab parties are satisfied with the present pace. They consider that American unilateral and direct involvement in the peace process ensures a continued protection for them and their regimes. Even so, Arabs need the UN to protect the people under occupation. This must entail a UN-observer presence in the occupied territories, besides enabling UNIFIL in South Lebanon to carry out its mandate unimpeded and uninterrupted.

Some may see the proposal to shift the peace process to the UN Security Council as totally "unrealistic." More controversial, and dangerously so, is to continue relying exclusively on Washington's flawed policy. It is well motivated, but haphazardly executed, if not deliberately paralyzed.

The US will be doing the aggrieved parties a great favor by enabling the UN to render them its ward pending a comprehensive resolution of the region's agony in a manner that will heal the wounds, and recognize and secure the legitimate rights of those whose rights have been denied. Once again, the US is called upon not only to be a superpower, but to be a great power.

■ Clovis Maksoud, a professor at the American University in Washington and director of the Center for the Study of the Global South, is a former ambassador of the League of Arab States to the US and the UN.

Advice to Clinton:
Talk to the Press

DEAR David:

You remember the Monitor-sponsored breakfast sessions I am sure. You were our guest, as President Reagan's communications chief, on several occasions. And you sat in on the breakfasts at which Mr. Reagan met with this group at the White House.

Well, I see and talk to a lot of reporters who cover the president, the Cabinet, and other high administration officials at these breakfasts, and since Bill Clinton took over the presidency there has been a common and frequently repeated complaint from these journalists: That they have little or no access to Clinton's top people. Again and again I have heard this refrain: "Nobody answers my phone calls."

These reporters are grumpy on this subject; indeed, many of them angry. All have the same explanation for their plight: That the president felt he scored very effectively during the campaign by going over the heads of the print press to the people via television.

So now, they contend, Clinton has been applying this same approach to governing and putting his programs into place. Television gets all the breaks, they say, while print journalists have become second-class citizens.

Our breakfast group hasn't fared too badly. Vice President Al Gore Jr. dropped by a couple of days after he took office. Secretary of State Warren Christopher and Secretary of Commerce Ron Brown have been guests – as has budget director Leon Panetta. But these were public officials who had been our guests in previous years, when they held other positions.

Elsewhere in the administration our invitations have too often met with some of this same lack of response that these other reporters were mentioning. We get the feeling that our calls often are swallowed up in a kind of bureaucratic goo, and the public figure never learns that he has been invited.

I recall that when you were in the White House you were always available, day or night, to take reporters' calls. You were unfailingly polite. You would patiently make the time to tell us not only what was going on but the reasons something was happening. Then you would give us your interpretation of what it meant, how this or that development "fit into the scheme of things."

Often you were providing "damage control," jumping in to try to clarify an administration position that had been blurred or challenged, or when some official had misspoken or blundered. We already had heard the other side. Now, from you, we would hear the president's side. From that and from other sources we could then move on to try to put an objective story together.

Actually, the David Gergen we used to talk to on the phone is pretty much the same fellow we have been listening to so appreciatively on the MacNeil-Lehrer TV news program – always so thoughtful, also so reasonable.

We certainly hope that this same David Gergen will be available to us now and that your broad responsibilities as the president's counselor on policy matters across the board won't keep you from playing the valuable role of communications director.

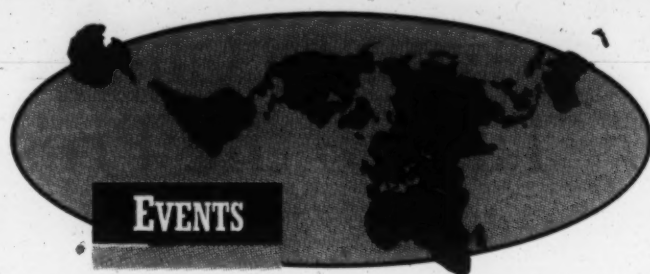
I hope, too, that you will be able to remind President Clinton that Ronald Reagan did not win his accolade as the "Great Communicator" by neglecting the print media. I always thought we got an even break from the Reagan White House, although some reporters might not agree. I found the access uneven at times, but mostly very good.

True, Reagan held relatively few press conferences. However, those are mainly TV affairs with the president talking over the heads of the print reporters to the vast TV audience.

I found Reagan's top officials usually available for interviews. And in a deadline situation if this was not possible, there would always be Gergen or someone else quite knowledgeable and informed there to bail me out.

Also, David, you might tell the president that there are studies that show that people are more likely to form their opinions on issues by what they read than by what they see on television. But we print journalists don't ask for the edge in White House treatment and access. We just like to be treated in an even-handed way.

GODFREY
SPERLING



SERB FORCES ATTACK 'SAFE AREAS'

Bosnian Serb forces reportedly shelled 2 of 6 "safe areas" for Muslims, while the Bosnian Serb commander, Gen. Ratko Mladic, yesterday again thwarted United Nations efforts to reach one of them. Gorazde and Srebrenica, Muslim enclaves in eastern Bosnia, came under Serb attack over the weekend. Gorazde, which is blocked off, was being shelled again yesterday for a 12th consecutive day. Mr. Mladic has been unavailable for negotiations since Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic tentatively promised last week to allow UN military observers into Gorazde. The attacks in Gorazde killed six civilians and wounded 26 on Sunday. In Srebrenica, five children were wounded Saturday and another three villages in the enclave were shelled Sunday.

German violence

Four teenage Turks were arrested yesterday for trying to set a Christian Social Union office in Bavaria on fire. Meanwhile, arsonists attacked two more homes where foreigners live in North Rhine-Westphalia, the same state where arson killed five Turks in Solingen 10 days ago. The federal prosecutor's office said a membership card of a soldier in the far-right party German People's Union was found in the apartment of 1 of 4 suspects in the Solingen incident. But the prosecutor said officials have no evidence that the arson was organized by right-wing extremists.

Italian elections

In the first big test of voter sentiment following a year of scandals, Italians punished the major parties in nationwide mayoral races. Exit polls showed that voters were keeping to the pattern set by 1992 parliamentary elections and local elections since: casting ballots against the Christian Democrats and their Socialist allies. Winners in Sunday's vote appeared to be the anti-Mafia party, La Rete, and the Northern League. Among the traditional parties, only the former Communists held their own.

Azerbaijan cities seized

A rebel army commander, Suret Guseinov, has seized the Azerbaijani cities of Gyandzha and Lenkoran, and his uprising against the Baku government was spreading. The Tass news agency said 60 people were killed in Gyandzha in weekend clashes between security forces and armed groups loyal to Mr. Guseinov; Interfax put the casualty figure at 10. Reports said Guseinov, who was sacked after Azerbaijani defeats in fighting with Armenia, was holding hostage four government officials.

Bangladesh president

A court yesterday sentenced deposed President Hussain Mohammad Ershad to seven years in prison for selling government-owned land at a discounted price to a firm owned by his wife. Yesterday's sentence is added to a 13-year term he is currently serving for abuse of power and corruption.

Latvia reformers

Moderate pro-reform parties made a strong showing in Latvia's first parliamentary elections since the former Soviet republic won independence from Moscow, the Election Commission said yesterday. The mildly nationalistic Latvian Way Party won 32 percent of the votes cast, according to preliminary results. In second was the right-wing Latvian National Independence Party, with 13.1 percent. Ninety percent of Latvia's 1.2 million eligible voters cast ballots on Saturday and Sunday.

Canadian resignation

Canada's Deputy Prime Minister Don Mazankowski announced his intention to resign from politics yesterday. Mr. Mazankowski is also finance minister. There are now eight senior ministers in Prime Minister Brian Mulroney's government who have announced they will not seek reelection.

Supreme Court action

The US high court ruled yesterday that:

- Religious groups must be allowed to use public schools after hours if nonreligious groups are given such permission.

- Some national banks may continue to sell insurance.

- Students may be permitted to lead prayers at public-school graduation ceremonies in Texas, Louisiana, and Mississippi.

— **Compiled by Shelby Siems**



Reform the Federal Reserve

By Lee H. Hamilton

CONGRESS this year is taking on many difficult tasks, including deficit reduction, campaign-finance reform, health-care reform, even reform of Congress itself. It should also enact long-needed reforms in the Washington institution that controls monetary policy: the Federal Reserve.

The health of our economy and the strength of our nation are strongly influenced by fiscal and monetary policies made in Washington. Those who decide fiscal matters — the president and Congress — are accountable to the voters. When Congress debates policy, it does so in the open. The decisions we make are immediately reported to the American people.

Every penny the government spends is accounted for in the federal budget; every government agency is subject to audit and review by the General Accounting Office (GAO). But the Federal Reserve is not held to the same standards. It does not conform to the normal rules of government accountability. Its decisions are made in secret and revealed only after long delay. It is not required to consult with Congress or the White House before setting money-supply or interest-rate targets.

The president, who is held responsible for the performance of the economy, must wait until late in his term to appoint a chairman of the Federal Reserve Board. Congress has no jurisdiction over the Federal Reserve's budget and gets little information on its spending. The presidents of the 12 Federal Reserve banks, along with the Fed's seven-member board of governors, make up the Federal Open Market Committee (FOMC) and vote on monetary-policy decisions. But unlike the governors, the presidents are neither appointed by the White House nor confirmed by the Senate. And even though the Fed engages in more than \$1 trillion in finan-

cial transactions each year, most of these are exempt from GAO audit.

Joint Economic Committee chairman Rep. David Obey (D) of Wisconsin and I have introduced two bills that would make the Fed more accountable without jeopardizing its independence and its ability to conduct monetary policy free of political pressure. The bills make some modest changes in the Fed's practices and procedures. These include:

- The Fed and the president's top economic advisers would be required to meet three times a year to consult on monetary and fiscal policy.

- The president could appoint a new Fed chairman, with the advice and consent of the Senate, one year after taking office.

- The Fed would have to announce immediately any changes in monetary policy, including changes in interest rates.

- The presidents of the Federal Reserve Banks, who are appointed largely by bankers, would be made advisers rather than voting members of the FOMC.

- The Fed would have to print its annual budget in the US government budget, and the GAO would be given more responsibility to audit the Fed.

Sens. Paul Sarbanes (D) of Maryland and Byron Dorgan (D) of North Dakota have introduced similar bills in the Senate. The bills will not reduce the independence of the Fed or inject politics into monetary

policy. They do not impose presidential, congressional, or other outside controls on Fed policy. Instead, they would create a formal channel of communication between the president and the Fed and provide Congress and the American people with more and better information on Fed policies and procedures.

■ *Rep. Lee H. Hamilton (D) of Indiana is chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the US House of Representatives, co-chairman of the Joint Committee on the Organization of Congress, and former chairman of the Joint Economic Committee.*

